RUSSIA
and the
BALKAN STATES

PETER THE GREAT.

PETER THE GREAT, first Tsar of all the Russias, founder of the Russian sea-power, and originator of Western innovations upon Eastern culture. Though violent in his passions, he was untiring in his devotion to his duty as ruler of his people, and with infinite patience set himself the task of building up an independent Russian nation. Born 1672, died 1725.

A SHORT HISTORY
OF
RUSSIA
AND THE BALKAN STATES

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ILLUSTRATED

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RUSSIA AND THE BALKAN STATES

RUSSIA

INTRODUCTION

Russia (*Rossiya*) is the general name for the European and Asiatic dominions of the "Tsar of All the Russias." Although the name is thus correctly applied, both in English and Russian, to the whole area of the Russian empire, its application is often limited, no less correctly, to European Russia, or even to European Russia exclusive of Finland and Poland. The use of the name in its most comprehensive sense dates only from the expansion of the empire in the 19th century; to the historian who writes of the earlier growth of the empire, Russia means, at most, Russia in Europe, or Muscovy, as it was usually called until the 18th century, from Moscow, its ancient capital. The origin of the term "Russia" has been much disputed. It is certainly derived, through *Rossiya*, from the Slavonic *Rus* or *Ros* (Byzantine Ῥῶς or Ῥώσοι), a name first given to the Scandinavians who founded a principality on the Dnieper in the 9th century; and afterwards extended to the collection of Russian states of which this principality formed the nucleus. The word *Rus*, in former times wrongly connected with the tribal name Rhoxolani, is more probably derived from *Ruotsi*, a Finnish name for the Swedes, which seems to be a corruption of the Swedish *rothsmenn*, "rowers" or "seafarers."

CHAPTER I

THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE

The Russian empire stretches over a vast territory in E. Europe and N. Asia, with an area exceeding 8,660,000 sq. m., or one-sixth of the land surface of the globe (one twenty-third of its whole superficies). It is, however, but thinly peopled on the average, including only one-twelfth of the inhabitants of the earth. It is almost entirely confined to the cold and temperate zones. In Novaya Zemlya and the Taimyr peninsula, it projects within the Arctic Circle as far as 77° 6′ and 77° 40′ N. respectively; while its S. extremities reach 38° 50′ in Armenia, 35° on the Afghan frontier, and 42° 30′ on the coasts of the Pacific. To the W. it advances as far as 20° 40′ E. in Lapland, 17° in Poland, and 29° 42′ on the Black Sea; and its E. limit—East Cape on the Bering Strait—is in 191° E.

The White, Barents and Kara Seas of the Arctic bound it on the N., and the northern Pacific—that is, the Seas of Bering, Okhotsk and Japan—bounds it on the E. The Baltic, with the Gulfs of Bothnia and Finland, limits it on the N.W.; and two sinuous lines of land frontier separate it respectively from Sweden and Norway on the N.W. and from Prussia, Austria and Rumania on the W. On the S. and E. the frontier has changed frequently according to the expansion and contraction of the empire under the pressure of political exigency and expedience. The Black Sea is the principal demarcating feature on the S. of European Russia. On the W. side of that sea the S. frontier touches the Danube for some 120 m.; on the E. side of the same sea it zigzags from the Black Sea to the Caspian, utilizing the river Aras (Araxes) for part of the distance. As the Caspian is virtually a Russian sea, Persia may be said to form the next link in the S. boundary of the Russian empire, followed by Afghanistan. On the Pamirs Russia has since 1885 been conterminous with British India (Kashmir); but the boundary then swings away N. round Chinese Turkestan and the N. side of Mongolia, and, since 1904–5, it has skirted the N. of Manchuria, being separated from it by the river Amur. As thus traced, the boundary in Central Asia includes the two khanates of Bokhara and Khiva, which, though nominally protected states, are to all intents and purposes integral parts of the Russian empire. But it excludes Manchuria, with the Liao-tung peninsula and Port Arthur, upon which Russia only placed her grasp in 1898–99, a grasp which she was compelled by Japan to release after the war of 1904–5. The total length of the frontier line of the Russian empire by land is 2800 m. in Europe, and nearly 10,000 m. in Asia, and by sea over 11,000 m. in Europe and between 19,000 and 20,000 m. in Asia.

Russia has no oceanic possessions; her islands are all appendages of the mainland to which they belong. Such are Karlo, East Kvarken, the Åland archipelago, Dagö, and Ösel or Oesel in the Baltic Sea; Novaya Zemlya, with Kolguyev and Vaigach, in the Barents Sea; the Solovetski Islands in the White Sea; the New Siberian archipelago, Wrangel Land and Bear Islands, off the Siberian coast; the Commander Islands off Kamchatka; the Shantar Islands and the N. of Sakhalin in the Sea of Okhotsk. The Aleutian archipelago was sold to the United States in 1867, together with Alaska, and in 1875 the Kurile Islands were ceded to Japan.

If the border regions, that is, two narrow belts, on the N. and S., be left out of account, a striking uniformity of physical feature prevails throughout the whole vast extent of the Russian empire. High plateaus like that of Pamir (the "Roof of the World") and Armenia, and lofty mountain chains like the snow-clad Caucasus,

the Alai, the Tian-shan, the Sayan Mountains, exist only on the outskirts of the empire.

Viewed broadly, the Russian empire may be said to occupy the territories to the N.W. of the great plateau formation of the old continent—the backbone of Asia—which stretches with decreasing altitude and width from the high tableland of Tibet and Pamir to the lower plateaus of Mongolia, and thence N.E. through the Vitim region to the farthest extremity of Asia. Thus it consists of the immense plains and flat lands which extend between the plateau formation and the Arctic Ocean, including the series of parallel chains and hilly spurs which skirt the former region on the N.W. And it is only to the E. of Lake Baikal that it climbs up on to the plateau, from which it descends again before it reaches the Pacific.

This plateau formation—the oldest geological continent of Asia—being unfit for agriculture and for the most part unsuited for permanent settlement, while its oceanic slopes have from the dawn of history been occupied by a relatively dense population, long prevented Slav colonization from reaching the Pacific. The Russians chanced to cross it in the 17th century at its narrowest and most N. part, and thus struck the Pacific on the foggy and frozen shores of the Sea of Okhotsk; but two centuries elapsed ere, after colonizing the depressions around Lake Baikal, they crossed over the plateau in a more genial zone and descended to the Pacific by the Amur. After that they spread rapidly S., up to the nearly uninhabited valley of the Usuri, to what is now the Gulf of Peter the Great. In the S.W. higher portions of the plateau formation the empire has only comparatively recently planted its foot on the Pamir, and it was only a few years earlier that it established itself firmly on the highlands of Armenia.

A broad belt of hilly tracts—in every respect alpine in character, and displaying the same variety of climate and organic life as alpine tracts usually do—skirts the plateau formation throughout its entire length on the N. and N.W., forming an intermediate region between the plateau and the plains. The Caucasus, the Elburz, the Kopet-dagh and Paropamisus, the intricate and imperfectly known network of mountains W. of the Pamir, the Tian-shan and the Ala-tau mountain regions, and farther N.E. the Altai, the still unnamed complex of the Minusinsk Mountains, the intricate mountain-chains of Sayan, with those of the Olekma, Vitim and Aldan all arranged *en échelon*—the former from N.W. to S.E., and the others from S.W. to N.E.—all these belong to the same alpine belt that borders the plateau from end to end of the series.

The flat lands which extend from the base of the Alpine foothills to the shores of the Arctic Ocean, assume the character either of dry deserts, as in the Aral-Caspian depression, or of low tablelands, as in central Russia and E. Siberia, of lacustrine regions in N.W. Russia and Finland, or of marshy prairies in W. Siberia, and of *tundras* in the far N. Throughout the whole of this vast area, their monotonous surfaces are diversified by only a few, and, for the most part, low, hilly tracts. Recently emerged from the Post-Pliocene sea, or freed from their mantle of ice, they persistently maintain the self-same features over immense areas; and the few portions that rise above the general elevation have more the character of broad and gentle swellings than of mountain-chains. Of this class are the swampy plateaus of the Kola peninsula, sloping gently S. to the lacustrine region of Finland and N.W. Russia; the Valdai tablelands, where all the great rivers of Russia take their rise; the broad and gently sloping meridional belt of the Ural Mountains; and lastly the Taimyr, Tunguzka and Verkhoyansk ranges in Siberia, which, notwithstanding their sub-Arctic position, do not reach the snow-line. The picturesque Bureya Mountains above the Amur, the forest-clad Sikhota-alin on the Pacific, and the volcanic chains of Kamchatka belong, however, to quite another orographical construction, being the border-ridges of the terraces by which the great plateau formation descends to the depths of the Pacific Ocean.

It is owing to these leading orographical features—divined by Carl Ritter, but only recently ascertained and established as fact by geographical research—that so many of the great rivers of the old continent are comprised within the limits of the Russian

empire. Taking their rise on the plateau formation, or in its outskirts, they flow first along lofty longitudinal valleys formerly filled with great lakes, next they cleave their way through the rocky barriers, and finally they enter the lowlands, where they become navigable, and, describing wide curves to avoid here and there the minor plateaus and hilly tracts, they bring into water-communication with one another places thousands of miles apart. The double river-systems of the Volga and Kama, the Ob and Irtysh, the Angara and Yenisei, the Lena and Vitim on the Arctic slope, and the Amur and Sungari on the Pacific slope, are instances. These were the obvious channels of Russian colonization.

A broad depression—the Aral-Caspian desert—has arisen where the plateau formation reaches its greatest altitude, and at the same time suddenly changes its direction from N.W. to N.E. This desert is now filled to only a small extent by the salt waters of the Caspian, Aral and Balkash inland seas; but it bears unmistakable traces of having been during Post-Pliocene times an immense inland basin. There the Volga, the Ural, the Syr-darya and the Amu-darya discharge their waters without reaching the ocean, but they bring life to the rapidly desiccating Transcaspian steppes, and link together the most remote parts of Russia.

Population.—The population of the empire, which was estimated at 74,000,000 in 1859, was found to be over 129,200,000 at the census of 1897, taken over all the empire except Finland. In 1904 it was estimated to be 143,000,000, and in 1906, according to a detailed estimate of the Central Statistical Committee, it was 149,299,300. Thus from 1860 to 1897 the population increased 74½ %, and from 1897 to 1904 26·3, an average annual increase of about 3½% as compared with an average annual increase of 2¾% during the period 1860–97.[1] The increase took place chiefly in the large cities, in Siberia, Poland, Lithuania, S. Russia and Caucasia. The official divisions of the empire are given here.

Province or Government		
European Russia—		
Archangel	Kazan	Moscow
Astrakhan	Kharkov	Nizhniy-Novgorod
Bessarabia	Kherson	Novgorod
Chernigov	Kiev	Olonets
Courland	Kostroma	Orel
Don Cossacks' territory	Kovno	Orenburg
Ekaterinoslav	Kursk	Penza
Esthonia	Livonia	Perm
Grodno	Minsk	Petrograd
Kaluga	Mogilev	Podolia

[1] There has been no proper census in the Russian Empire since 1897, but the Central Statistical Committee issues annual estimates of the population, based on the yearly returns. The total population for 1911 was put at 167,003,400 (European Russia, 120,588,000; Poland, 12,467,300; Caucasus, 12,037,200; Siberia, 8,719,200; Central Asia, 10,197,300; Finland, 3,084,400). The various peoples of Russia have altogether 101 different languages, Russian predominating in 41 of the 78 provinces, 21 territories and 2 circuits, into which the country is divided for administration. The population of Petrograd is given as 1,962,400, Moscow 1,533,400, Warsaw 872,478, Odessa 505,600, Riga 331,300, Kharkov 236,042, Lodz 208,330; and twenty-one other towns have between 100,000 and 200,000. Census work has been done in the chief cities since the general numbering of the people in 1897, and it is considered certain that Petrograd now contains over two million inhabitants. The urban population of the whole Empire is 23,177,700, including Finland (459,000), Caucasus (1,577,500), Siberia (1,050,600) and Central Asia (1,385,500). The rural population is 143,825,700, of which European Russia counts 104,790,100. According to information issued by the Chief Medical Inspector of the Ministry for Internal Affairs, the death rate of European Russia in 1909 was 28·9 and the birth rate 43·8 per 1000. This was a less favourable year from a sanitary point of view than the two preceding, and the increase of the population was lower than for 12 years previously, except in 1905. For 20 years down to 1910 the birth rate generally fluctuated between 47·10 in 1903 and 49·5 in 1891.

An idea may be formed of the insanitary condition of the country from the following figures: the total number of sick persons registered by doctors rose from 56,835,200, or 339 per 1000, in 1904 to 81,746,072, or 524 per 1000, in 1909. These details become terribly significant when it is considered that there is only one doctor in European Russia per 7100 of the population and in Asiatic Russia per 14,900. Information as to the health of army recruits also bears upon this subject. In 1908 the number of men registered as liable to serve with the colours was 1,280,887, of whom 679,266, or 53 %, were medically examined, with the result that 73,496, or 10·8 %, were found totally unfit for military service, and 58,606, or 8·6 %, were enrolled in the second category of the militia reserve as being unfit for the regular army on account of sickness and bodily defects, whilst 74,425, or 10·7 %, were allowed further time for recovery from illness and physical development.

Poltava	Tambov	Vladimir
Pskov	Taurida	Volhynia
Ryazan	Tula	Vologda
Samara	Tver	Voronezh
Saratov	Ufa	Vyatka
Simbirsk	Vilna	Yaroslavl
Smolensk	Vitebsk	

Poland—

Kalisz	Piotrkow	Siedlce
Kielce	Plock	Suwalki
Lomza	Radom	Warsaw
Lublin		

Grand-Duchy of Finland—

Abo-Björneborg	St Michel	Viborg
Kuopio	Tavastehus	Vasa
Nyland	Uleåborg	

Caucasia—

Kuban	Stavropol	Terek
Baku	Elizavetpol	Kutais
Black Sea territory	Erivan	Tiflis with Zakataly
Daghestan	Kars	

Russia in Asia—

The Steppes { Akmolinsk, Semipalatinsk, Turgai, Uralsk } { Semiryechensk, Samarkand }

Turkestan—

{ Ferghana, Syr-darya } Transcaspia

Western Siberia—

{ Tobolsk, Tomsk }

Eastern Siberia—

{ Irkutsk, Transbaikalia } Yakutsk, Yeniseisk

Amur Region—

{ Amur, Maritime Province } Sakhalin

It has been found, from a comparison of the densities of population of the various provinces in 1859 with the distribution in 1897, that the centre of density has distinctly moved S., towards the shores of the Black Sea, and W., the greatest increase having taken place in the E. Polish and in the Lithuanian provinces, along the S.W. border, in the prairie belt beside the Black Sea, and in Orenburg. N. Caucasia and S.W. Siberia likewise show a considerable increase. The census of 1897 revealed in several provinces a remarkably low proportion of men to women. This was owing to the fact that large numbers of the men engaged in agricultural pursuits during the summer temporarily move every year into the large industrial centres for the winter. Consequently there were only 87·4 and 89·8 women to every 100 men in the governments of Petrograd and Taurida respectively, but as many as 133·8 in Yaroslavl, 119 in Tver and 117 in Kostroma. The average number of women to every 100 men in the Russian governments proper was 102·9; in Poland, 98·6; in Finland, 102·2; in Caucasia, 88·9; in Siberia, 93·7; and in Turkestan and Transcaspia, 83·0.

The effects of emigration and immigration cannot be estimated with accuracy, because only those who cross the frontier with passports are taken account of. The statistics of these show that there was during the thirty-two years, 1856–88, an excess of emigration over immigration of 1,146,052 in the case of Russians, and a surplus of immigration of 2,304,717 foreigners. On the other hand, in the six years, 1892–97, the excess of Russian emigration over immigration was 207,353, as compared with an excess of foreign immigration over emigration of only 136,740. During the years 1900–4 inclusive the total emigrants from Russia numbered 2,358,539, of whom 1,144,246 were Russians; while the immigrants numbered 2,333,053, of whom 1,432,057 were foreigners. It is also known that the number of Russian immigrants into the United States in 1891–1902 was 742,869, as compared with 313,469 in 1873–90, or a grand total since 1873 of 1,056,338. By far the greater part of

these were Jews. The emigration to Siberia varies much from year to year. It was 26,129 in 1888, and 60,000 in 1898. During the two following years it amounted to an average of over 160,000, but in the years 1901–3 to an average of 84,638 per annum. Altogether some 800,000 peasants are estimated to have settled in Siberia during the period 1886–96, but during the years 1893–1905 no less than four millions in all. There is also some emigration from central Russia to the S. Urals, as well as to some of the steppe governments.

Within the empire a very great diversity of nationalities is comprised, due to the amalgamation or absorption by the Slav race of a variety of Ural-Altaic stocks, of Turko-Tatars, Turko-Mongols and various Caucasian races. In some cases their ethnical relations have not yet been completely determined. According to the results obtained by the census committee of 1897, working on a linguistic basis, the distribution of races was as given in the table on pages 4 and 5.

Taken as a whole, only 13% of the population of Russia lived in towns in 1897, but in the years 1857–60 less than 10% was urban. In Russia proper less than 2% emigrated from the villages to the towns during the forty years ending 1897. The following table shows the urban population in the various divisions of the empire in 1897 :—

	Urban Population.	Percentage of Total.
European Russia	12,027,038	12·8
Poland	2,055,892	21·7
Finland	281,216	11·0
Caucasia	1,010,615	10·9
Siberia	473,796	9·3
Central Asia	936,655	12·0
Russian Empire . .	16,785,212	13·0

There were in European Russia and Poland only twelve cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants in 1884 ; in 1900 there were sixteen, namely, Petrograd, Moscow, Warsaw, Odessa, Lódz, Riga, Kiev, Kharkov, Vilna, Saratov, Kazañ, Ekaterinoslav, Rostov-on-the-Don, Astrakhan, Tula and Kishinev. In other parts of the empire there were four cities each having over 100,000 inhabitants in that year, namely, Baku, Tiflis, Tashkent and Helsingfors. While only three of these are in middle Russia (Moscow, Tula and Kazañ), eight are in S. Russia. There are thirty-four cities in European Russia and Poland, and forty in the entire empire, with from 50,000 to 100,000 inhabitants each. The rural population live for the most part in villages, not as a rule scattered about the country. In the inclement regions of the N. and in the N. parts of the forest zone the villages are very small. They are larger, but still small, in White Russia, Lithuania and the region of the lakes ; but in the steppe governments they are very appreciably bigger, some of the Cossack *stanitsas* or settlements exceeding 20,000, and many of them numbering more than 10,000 inhabitants each. The houses are generally built of wood and wear a poverty-stricken aspect. Owing to the great risks from fire the villages usually cover a large area of ground, and the houses are scattered and straggling. The mortality in most towns is so great that during the last ten years of the 19th century, in a very great number of cities, the deaths exceeded the births by 1 to 4 in the thousand.

CHAPTER II

EUROPEAN RUSSIA

The administrative boundaries of European Russia, apart from Finland, coincide broadly with the natural limits of the East-European plains. In the N. it is bounded by the Arctic Ocean; the islands of Novaya-Zemlya, Kolguyev and Vaigach also belong to it, but the Kara Sea is reckoned to Siberia. To the E. it has the Asiatic dominions of the empire, Siberia and the Kirghiz steppes, from both of which it is separated by the Ural Mountains, the Ural river and the Caspian—the administrative boundary, however, partly extending into Asia on the Siberian slope of the Urals. To the S. it has the Black Sea and Caucasia, being separated from the latter by the Manych depression, which in Post-Pliocene times connected the Sea of Azov with the Caspian. The W. boundary is purely conventional: it crosses the peninsula of Kola from the Varanger Fjord to the Gulf of Bothnia; thence it runs to the Kurisches Haff in the southern Baltic, and thence to the mouth of the Danube, taking a great circular sweep to the W. to embrace Poland, and separating Russia from Prussia, Austrian Galicia and Rumania.

It is a special feature of Russia that she has no free outlet to the open sea except on the ice-bound shores of the Arctic Ocean. Even the White Sea is merely a gulf of that ocean. The deep indentations of the gulfs of Bothnia and Finland are surrounded by what is ethnologically Finnish territory, and it is only at the very head of the latter gulf that the Russians have taken firm foothold by erecting their capital at the mouth of the Neva. The Gulf of Riga and the Baltic belong also to territory which is not inhabited by Slavs, but by Finnish races and by Germans. It is only within the last hundred and thirty years that the Russians have definitely taken possession of the N. shores of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov. The E. coast of the Black Sea belongs properly to Transcaucasia, a great chain of mountains separating it from Russia. But even this sheet of water is an inland sea, the only outlet of which, the Bosphorus, is in foreign hands, while the Caspian, an immense shallow lake, mostly bordered by deserts, possesses more importance as a link between Russia and her Asiatic settlements than as a channel for intercourse with other countries.

The great territory occupied by European Russia—1600 m. in length from N. to S., and nearly as much from E. to W.—is on the whole a broad elevated plain, ranging between 500 and 900 ft. above sea-level, deeply cut into by river-valleys, and bounded on all sides by broad swellings or low mountain-ranges: the lake plateaus of Finland and the Maanselkä heights in the N.W.; the Baltic coast-ridge and spurs of the Carpathians in the W., with a broad depression between the two, occupied by Poland; the Crimean and Caucasian mountains in the S.; and the broad but moderately high swelling of the Ural Mountains in the E.

From a central plateau, which comprises the governments of Tver, Moscow, Smolensk and Kursk, and projects E. towards Samara, attaining an average elevation of 800 to 900 ft. above the sea, the surface slopes gently in all directions to a level of 300 to 500 ft. Then it again rises gradually as it approaches the hilly tracts which enclose the great plain. This central swelling may be considered a continuation towards the E.N.E. of the great line of upheavals of N.W. Europe; the elevated grounds of Finland would then represent a continuation of the Scanian plateaus of S. Sweden, and the northern mountains of Finland a continuation of Kjölen (the Keel) which separate Sweden from Norway, while the other great line of upheaval of the old

continent, which runs N.W. to S.E., would be represented in Russia by the Caucasus in the S. and by the Timan ridge of the Pechora basin in the N.

The hilly aspect of several parts of the central plateau is not due to foldings of the strata, which for the most part appear to be horizontal, but chiefly to the excavating action of the rivers, whose valleys are deeply eroded in the plateau, especially on its borders. The round flattened summits of the Valdai plateau do not rise above 1100 ft., and they present the appearance of mountains only in consequence of the depths of the valleys—the rivers which flow towards the depression of Lake Peipus being only 200 to 250 ft. above the sea. The same is true of the plateaus of Livonia, "Wendish Switzerland," and the government of Kovno, which do not exceed 1000 ft. at their highest points; and again of the E. spurs, of the Baltic coast-ridge between the governments of Grodno and Minsk. The same elevation is reached by a very few flat summits of the plateau about Kursk, and farther E. on the Volga about Kamyshin, where the valleys are excavated to a depth of 800 or 900 ft., giving quite a hilly aspect to the country. It is only in the S.W., where spurs of the Carpathians enter the governments of Volhynia, Podolia and Bessarabia, that ridges reaching 1100 ft. are met with, these again intersected by deep ravines.

The depressions which gap the borders of the central plateau thus acquire a greater importance than the small differences in its vertical elevation. Such is the broad depression of the middle Volga and lower Kama, bounded on the N. by the faint swelling of the Uvaly, the watershed between the Arctic Ocean and the Volga basin. Another broad depression, 250 to 500 ft. above the sea, still filled by Lakes Peipus, Ladoga, Onega, Beloozero, Lacha, Vozhe, and many thousands of smaller lakes, skirts the central plateau on the N., and follows the same E.N.E. direction. Only a few low swellings penetrate into it from the N.W., about Lake Onega, and reach 900 ft., while in the N.E. it is enclosed by the Timan ridge (1000 ft.). A third depression, traversed by the Pripet and the middle Dnieper, extends to the W. and penetrates into Poland. This immense lacustrine basin is now broken up into numberless ponds, lakes and marshes. It is bounded on the S. by the broad plateaus which spread out E. of the Carpathians. S. of 50° N. the central plateau slopes gently towards the S., and we find there a fourth depression stretching W. and E. through Poltava and Kharkov, but still reaching in its higher parts 500 to 700 ft. It is separated from the Black Sea by a gentle swelling which may be traced from Kremenets in Volhynia to the lower Don, and perhaps farther S.E. This swelling includes the Donets coal-measures and the middle granitic ridges which give rise to the rapids of the Dnieper. Finally a fifth depression, which descends below the level of the ocean, extends for more than 200 m. to the N. of the Caspian, comprising the lower Volga and the Ural and Emba rivers, and establishing a link between Russia and the Aral-Caspian region. It is continued farther N. by plains below 300 ft., which join the depression of the middle Volga, and extend as far as the mouth of the Oka.

The Ural Mountains present the aspect of a broad swelling whose strata no longer exhibit the horizontality which is characteristic of central Russia, and moreover are deeply cut into by rivers. They are connected in the W. with broad plateaus which join those of central Russia, but their orographical relations to other upheavals must be more closely studied before they can be definitely pronounced on.

The rhomboidal peninsula of the Crimea, connected by only a narrow isthmus with the continent, is occupied by an arid plateau sloping gently N. and E., and bordered on the S.E. by the Yaila Mountains, the summits of which range between 4000 and 5000 ft.

Owing to the orographical structure of the East-European plains, the river systems have become more than usually prominent and important features of the configuration. Taking their origin from a series of lacustrine basins scattered over the plateaus and differing slightly in elevation, the Russian rivers describe immense curves before reaching the sea, and flow with a very gentle gradient, while numerous large tributaries collect their waters from over vast areas. Thus the Volga, the Dnieper and the Don attain respectively lengths of 2325, 1410 and 1325 m., and their basins run to 563,300, 202,140 and 166,000 sq. m. respectively. Moreover, the chief rivers, the Volga, the W. Dvina, the Dnieper, and even the Lovat and the Oka, take their rise (in the N.W. of the central plateau) so close to one another that they may be said to radiate from the same centre. The sources of the Don interlace with the tributaries of the Oka, while the upper tributaries of the Kama join those of the N. Dvina and Pechora. In consequence of this, the rivers of Russia have been from remote antiquity the principal channels of trade and migration, and have contributed much more to the elaboration of national unity than any political institutions. Boats could be conveyed over flat and easy portages from one river-basin to another, and these portages were subsequently transformed with a relatively small amount of labour into navigable canals, and even at the present day the canals have more importance for the traffic of the country than have most of the railways. By their means the plains of the central plateau—the very heart of Russia, whose natural outlet was the Caspian—were brought into water-communication with the Baltic, and the Volga basin was connected with the Gulf of Finland. The White Sea has also been brought into connexion with the central

Volga basin, while the sister-river of the Volga—the Kama—became the main artery of communication with Siberia.

But although the rivers of Russia rank before the rivers of W. Europe in respect of length, they are far behind them as regards the volumes of water which they discharge. They freeze in winter and dry up in summer, and most of them are navigable only during the spring floods; even the Volga becomes so shallow during the hot season that none but boats of light draught can pass over its shoals.

Arctic Ocean Basin.—The Pechora rises in the N. Urals, and enters the ocean by a large estuary at the Gulf of Pechora. Its basin, thinly peopled and available only for cattle-breeding and for hunting, is quite isolated from Russia by the Timan ridge. The river is navigable for 770 m.; grain and a variety of goods conveyed from the upper Kama are floated down, while furs, fish and other products of the sea are shipped up the river to be transported to Cherdyn on the Kama. The Mezeñ enters the Bay of Mezeñ; it is navigable for 450 m., and is the channel of a considerable export of timber. The N. Dvina is formed by the union of the Yug and the Sukhona. The latter, although it flows over a great number of rapids, is navigable throughout its length (330 m.); it is connected by canal with the Caspian and the Baltic. The Vychegda, which flows W.S.W. to join the Sukhona, through a woody region, thinly peopled, is navigable for 500 m. and in its upper portion is connected by a canal with the upper Kama. The N. Dvina flows with a very slight gradient through a broad valley, and reaches the White Sea at Archangel. Notwithstanding serious obstacles offered by shallows, corn, fish, salt and timber are largely shipped to and from Archangel. The Onega, which flows into Onega Bay, has rapids; but timber is floated down in spring, and fishing and some navigation are carried on in the lower portion.

Baltic Basin.—The Neva (40 m.) flows from Lake Ladoga into the Gulf of Finland. The Volkhov, discharging into Lake Ladoga, and forming part of the Vyshniy-Volochok system of canals, is an important channel for navigation; it flows from Lake Ilmen, which receives the Msta, connected with the Volga, and the Lovat. The Svir, also discharging into Lake Ladoga, flows from Lake Onega, and, being part of the Mariinsk canal system, is of great importance for navigation. The Narova flows out of Lake Peipus into the Gulf of Finland at Narva; it has remarkable rapids, which are used to generate power for cotton-mills; in spite of this, the river is navigated. Lake Peipus, or Chudskoye, receives the Velikaya, a channel of traffic with S. Russia from a remote antiquity, but now navigable only in its lower portion, and the Embach, navigated by steamers to Dorpat (Yuryev). The S. Dvina, which falls into the sea below Riga, is shallow above the rapids of Jacobstadt, but navigation is carried on as far as Vitebsk—corn, timber, potash, flax, &c., being the principal shipments of its navigable tributaries (the Obsha, Ulla and Kasplya). The Ulla is connected by the Berezina canals with the Dnieper. The Memel (Niemen), with a course of 470 m. in Russia, rises in the N. of Minsk, leaves Russia at Yurburg, and enters the Kurisches Haff; rafts are floated upon it almost from its source, and steamers ply as far as Kovno; it is connected by the Oginsky canal with the Dnieper.

Black Sea Basin.—The Pruth rises in Austrian Bukovina, and separates Russia from Rumania; it enters the Danube, which flows along the Russian frontier for 100 m. below Reni, touching it with its Kilia branch. The Dniester (530 m. in Russia) rises in Galicia. Light boats and rafts are floated at all points, and steamers ply on its lower portion; its estuary has important fisheries. The Dnieper, with a basin of 202,140 sq. m., drains 13 governments, the aggregate population of which numbers over 28,000,000. It also originates in the N.W. parts of the central plateau, in the same marshy lakes which give rise to the Volga and the W. Dvina, and enters the Black Sea. In the middle navigable part of its course, from Dorogobuzh to Ekaterinoslav, it is an active channel for traffic. It receives several large tributaries:—on the right, the Berezina, connected with the W. Dvina, and the Pripet, both very important for navigation—as well as several smaller tributaries on which rafts are floated; on the left, the Sozh, the Desna, one of the most important rivers of Russia, navigated by steamers as far as Bryansk, the Sula, the Psiol and the Vorskta. Below Ekaterinoslav the Dnieper flows for 46 m. over a series of rapids. At Kherson it enters its long (40 m.) but shallow estuary, which receives the S. Bug and the Ingut. The Don, with a basin of 166,000 sq. m., and navigable for 880 m., rises in the government of Tula and enters the Sea of Azov at Rostov, after describing a great curve to the E. at Tsaritsyn, approaching the Volga, with which it is connected by a railway (45 m.). Its navigation is of great importance, especially for goods brought from the Volga, and its fisheries are extensive. The chief tributaries are the Sosna and North Donets on the right, and the Voronezh, Khoper, Medvyeditsa and Manych on the left. The Ylya, the Kubañ and the Rion belong to Caucasia.

The Caspian Basin.—The Volga, the chief river of Russia, has a length of 2325 m., and its basin, about 563,300 sq. m. in area, contains a population of nearly 40,000,000. It is connected with the Baltic by three systems of canals. The Ural, in its lower part, constitutes the frontier between European Russia and the Kirghiz steppe; it receives the Sakmara on the right and the Ilek on the left. The Kuma, the Terek and the Kura, with the Aras, which receives the waters of Lake Gok-cha, belong to Caucasia.

The soil of Russia depends chiefly on the distribution of the boulder-clay and loess, on

the degree to which the rivers have severally excavated their valleys, and on the moistness of the climate. Vast areas in Russia are quite unfit for cultivation, 19 % of the aggregate surface of European Russia (apart from Poland and Finland) being occupied by lakes, marshes, sand, &c., 39 % by forests, 16 % by prairies, and only 26 % being under cultivation. The distribution of all these is, however, very unequal, and the five following subdivisions may be established :—(1) the tundras ; (2) the forest region ; (3) the middle region, comprising the surface available for agriculture and partly covered with forests ; (4) the black-earth (*chernozyom*) region ; and (5) the steppes. Of these the black-earth region—about 150,000,000 acres—which reaches from the Carpathians to the Urals, from the Pinsk marshes in the S.W. to the upper Oka in the N.E., is the most important. It is covered with a thick sheet of black earth, a kind of loess, mixed with 5 to 15% of humus, due to the decomposition of an herbaceous vegetation, which developed luxuriantly during the Lacustrine period on a continent relatively dry even at that epoch. On the three-fields system corn has been grown upon it for fifty to seventy consecutive years without manure. Isolated black-earth islands, though less fertile, occur also in Courland and Kovno, in the Oka-Volga-Kama depression, on the slopes of the Urals, and in a few patches in the N. Towards the Black Sea coast its thickness diminishes, and it disappears in the valleys. In the extensive region covered with boulder-clay the black earth appears only in isolated places, and the soil consists for the most part of a sandy clay, containing a much smaller admixture of humus. There cultivation is possible only with the aid of a considerable quantity of manure. Drainage finding no outlet through the thick clay, the soil of the forest region is often hidden beneath extensive marshes, and the forests themselves are often mere thickets choking marshy ground ; large tracts of sand appear in the W., and the admixture of boulders with the clay in the N.W. renders agriculture difficult. On the Arctic coast the forests disappear, giving place to the tundras. Finally, in the S.E., towards the Caspian, on the slopes of the southern Urals and the plateau of Obshchiy Syrt, as also in the interior of the Crimea, and in several parts of Bessarabia, there are large tracts of real desert, buried under coarse sand and devoid of vegetation.

Notwithstanding the fact that Russia extends from N. to S. through 30° of latitude, the climate of its different portions, apart from the Crimea and Caucasia, presents a striking uniformity. The aerial currents—cyclones, anti-cyclones and dry S.E. winds—prevail over extensive areas, and sweep across the flat plains without hindrance. Everywhere the winter is cold and the summer hot, both varying in their duration, but differing relatively little in the extremes of temperature recorded. There is no place in Russia, Archangel and Astrakhan included, where the thermometer does not rise in summer nearly to 86° Fahr. and descend in winter to – 13° and – 22°. It is only on the Black Sea coast that the absolute range of temperature does not exceed 108°, while in the remainder of Russia it reaches 126° to 144°, the oscillations being between – 22° and – 31°, occasionally going down as low as – 54°, and rising as high as 86° to 104°, or even 109°. Everywhere the rainfall is small : if Finland and Poland on the one hand and Caucasia with the Caspian depression on the other be excluded, the average yearly rainfall varies between 16 and 28 in. Nowhere does the maximum rainfall take place in winter (as in W. Europe), but it occurs in summer, and everywhere the months of advanced spring are warmer than the corresponding months of autumn.

Though thus exhibiting the distinctive features of a continental climate, Russia does not lie altogether outside the reach of the moderating influence of the ocean. The Atlantic cyclones penetrate to the Russian plains, mitigating to some extent the cold of winter, and in summer bringing with them their moist winds and thunderstorms. Their influence is chiefly felt in W. Russia, though it does reach as far as the Urals and beyond. They thus check the extension and limit the duration of the cold anti-cyclones.

Throughout Russia the winter is of long duration. The last days of frost are experienced for the most part in April, but as late as May to the N. of 55° N. The spring is exceptionally beautiful in central Russia ; late as it usually is, it sets in with vigour, and vegetation develops with a rapidity which gives to this season in Russia a special charm, unknown in warmer climates. The rapid melting of the snow at the same time causes the rivers to swell, and renders a great many minor streams navigable for a few weeks. But a return of cold weather, injurious to vegetation, is very frequently observed in central and E. Russia between May the 18th and the 24th, so that it is only in June that warm weather sets in definitely, and it reaches its maximum in the first half of July (or of August on the Black Sea coast). In S.E. Russia the summer is much warmer than in the corresponding latitudes of France, and really hot weather is experienced everywhere. It does not, however, prevail for long, and in the first half of September frosts begin on the middle Urals. They descend upon W. and S. Russia in the beginning of October, and are felt on the Caucasus about the middle of November. The temperature drops so rapidly that a month later, about October the 10th on the middle Urals and November the 15th throughout Russia, the thermometer ceases to rise above the freezing-point. The rivers freeze rapidly ; towards November 20th all the streams of the White Sea basin are ice-bound, and so remain for an average of 167 days ; those of the Baltic, Black Sea and Caspian basins freeze later, but about December the 20th nearly all the rivers of the country are highways for sledges.

The Volga remains frozen for a period varying between 150 days in the N. and 90 days at Astrakhan, the Don for 100 to 110 days, and the Dnieper for 83 to 122 days. On the W. Dvina ice prevents navigation for 125 days, and even the Vistula at Warsaw remains frozen for 77 days. The lowest temperatures are experienced in January, the average being as low as 20° to 5° Fahr. throughout Russia; in the west only does it rise above 22°. On the whole, February and March continue to be cold, and their average temperatures rise above zero nowhere except on the Black Sea coast. Even at Kiev and Lugañsk the average of March is below 30°, while in central Russia it is 25° to 22°, and as low as 20° and 16° at Samara and Orenburg.

All Russia is comprised between the isotherms of 32° and 54°. On the whole, they are more remote from one another than even on the plains of N. America, those of 46° to 32° being distributed over twenty degrees of latitude. They are, on the whole, inclined towards the S. in E. Russia; thus the isotherm of 39° runs from Petrograd to Orenburg, and that of 35° from Tornea in Finland to Uralsk. The inflexion is still greater for the winter isotherms. Closely following one another, they run almost N. and S.; thus Odessa and Königsberg are situated on the same winter isotherm of 28°; Petrograd, Orel and the mouth of the Ural river on about 20°; and Mezeñ and Ufa on 9°. The summer isotherms cross the winter isotherms nearly at right angles, so that Kiev and Ufa, Warsaw and Tobolsk, Riga and the upper Kama have the same average summer temperatures of 64°, 62½° and 61° respectively.

The laws and relations of the cyclones and anti-cyclones in Russia are not yet thoroughly understood. It appears, however, that in January the cyclones mostly travel across N.W. Russia (N. of 55° and W. of 40° E.), following directions which vary between N.E. and S.E. In July they are pushed farther towards the N., and cross the Gulf of Bothnia, while another series of cyclones sweep across middle Russia, between 50° and 55° N. Nor are the laws of the anti-cyclones established. The winds closely depend on the routes followed by both. Generally, however, it may be said that alike in January and in July W. and S.W. winds prevail in W. Russia, while E. winds are most common in S.E. Russia. N. winds are predominant on the Black Sea coast. The strength of the wind is greater, on the whole, than in the continental parts of W. Europe, and it attains its maximum velocity in winter. Terrible tempests blow from October to March, especially on the S. steppes and on the tundras. Hurricanes accompanied with snow (*burans, myatels*), and lasting from two to three days, or N. blizzards without snow, are especially dangerous to man and beast. The average relative moisture reaches 80 to 85 % in the N., and only 70 to 81% in S. and E. Russia. In the steppes it is only 60 % during summer, and still less (57) at Astrakhan. The average amount of cloud is 73 to 75% on the White Sea and in Lithuania, 68 to 64 in central Russia, and only 59 to 53 in the S. and S.E. The amount of rainfall is shown in the following Table.

	North Latitude.	Height above Sea in Feet.	Average Temperatures.			Average Rainfall in Inches.	
			Year.	January.	July.	Year.	November to March.
	° ′		°	°	°		
Archangel	64 34	30	32·7	7·6	60·6	16 2	4·3
Petrozavodsk	61 47	160	36·4	11·8	62·1	..	..
Helsingfors	60 10	40	39·0	19·5	61·5	19·6	7·3
Petrograd	59 57	20	38·4	15·0	64·0	18·3	5·3
Bogoslovsk	59 45	630?	29·4	−3·8	62·5	15·8	3·1
Dorpat	58 22	220	39·5	17·6	63·1	24·9	7·3
Kostroma	57 46	360	37·3	9·4	66·3	19·4	5·2
Ekaterinburg	56 49	890	32·8	2·2	63·5	14·1	1·6
Kazañ	55 47	260	37·2	7·0	67·3	18·0	5·4
Moscow	55 45	520	39·0	12·1	66·0	23·0	7·3
Vilna	54 41	390	43·8	22·1	65·6	..	..
Warsaw	52 14	360	44·9	23·8	65·4	22·8	6·7
Orenburg	51 45	360	37·9	4·7	70·9	17·1	5·8
Kursk	51 44	690	41·0	13·7	67·2	19·9	5·6
Kiev	50 27	590	44·2	21·0	66·3	20·1	6·0
Tsaritsyn	48 42	100	44·4	13·4	74·6	..	..
Lugansk	48 27	200	45·6	17·0	73·0	14·3	4·3
Odessa	46 29	270	49·0	24·8	72·3	15·6	5·4
Astrakhan	46 21	−70	49·0	19·2	77·9	5·7	1·5
Sevastopol	44 37	130	53·7	35·2	73·8	15·4	7·2
Poti	42 9	0	58·4	39·0	73·3	64·9	23·4
Tiflis	41 42	1440	54·5	33·0	75·7	19·3	4·3

The flora of Russia, which represents an intermediate link between the flora of Germany and the flora of Siberia, is strikingly uniform over a very large area. Though not poor at any given place, it appears so if the space occupied by Russia be taken into account; only 3300 species of phanerogams and ferns being known. Four regions may be distinguished: the Arctic, the Forest, the Steppe and the Circum-Mediterranean.

The *Arctic Region* comprises the tundras of the Arctic littoral beyond the N. limit of the forests, which closely follows the coast-line, with deviations towards the N. in the river valleys (70° N. in Finland and on the Arctic Circle about Archangel, 68° N. on the Urals, 71° in W. Siberia). The shortness of the summer, the deficiency of drainage and the depth to which the soil freezes in winter, are the circumstances which determine the characteristic features of the vegetation of the tundras. Their flora is far closer akin to the floras of N. Siberia and N. America than to that of central Europe. Mosses and lichens are distinctive, as also are the birch, the dwarf willow and several shrubs; but where the soil is drier, and humus has been able to accumulate, a variety of herbaceous flowering plants, some of them familiar in W. Europe, make their appearance. Only 275 to 280 phanerogams are found within this region.

The *Forest Region* of the Russian botanists includes the greater part of the country, from the Arctic tundras to the steppes, and over this immense expanse it maintains a remarkable uniformity of character. Beketov subdivides it into two portions—the forest region proper and the "Ante-Steppe" (*predstepie*). The N. limit of the ante-steppe is represented by a line drawn from the Pruth through Zhitomir, Kursk, Tambov and Stavropol-on-Volga to the sources of the Ural river. But the forest region proper presents a different aspect in the N. from that in the S., and must in turn be subdivided into two parts—the coniferous region and the region of the oak forests—these being separated by a line drawn through Pskov, Kostroma, Kazañ and Ufa. Of course the oak occurs farther N. than this, and coniferous forests extend farther S., advancing even to the border-region of the steppes. To the N. of this line the forests are of great extent and densely grown, more frequently diversified by marshes than by meadows or cultivated fields. Vast and impenetrable forests, impassable marshes and thickets, numerous lakes, swampy meadows with cleared and dry spaces here and there occupied by villages, are the leading features of this region. Fishing and hunting are the most important sources of livelihood. The characteristics of the oak region, which comprises all central Russia, are totally different. The surface is undulatory; marshy meadow lands no longer exist on the flat watersheds, and only a few in the deeper and broader river valleys. Forests are still numerous where they have not been destroyed by the hand of man, but their character has changed. Conifers are rare, and the Scotch pine, which is abundant on the sandy plains, takes the place of the *Abies*. The forests are composed of the birch, oak and other deciduous trees, the soil is dry, and the woodlands are divided by green prairies. Viewed from rising ground, the landscape presents a pleasing variety of cornfield and forest, while the horizon is broken by the bell-towers of the numerous villages strung along the banks of the streams.

Viewed as a whole, the flora of the forest region is to be regarded as European-Siberian; and, though certain species disappear towards the E., while new ones make their appearance, it maintains, on the whole, the same features throughout from Poland to Kamchatka. Thus the beech (*Fagus sylvatica*) is unable to survive the continental climate of Russia, and does not penetrate beyond Poland and the S.W. provinces, reappearing again in the Crimea. The silver fir does not extend over Russia, and the oak does not cross the Urals. On the other hand, several Asiatic species (Siberian pine, larch, cedar) grow freely in the N.E., while numerous shrubs and herbaceous plants, originally from the Asiatic steppes, have found their way into the S.E. But all these do not greatly alter the general character of the vegetation. The coniferous forests of the north contain, besides conifers, the birch (*Betula alba, B. pubescens, B. fruticosa* and *B. verrucosa*), which extends from the Pechora to the Caucasus, the aspen, two species of alder, the mountain-ash (*Sorbus aucuparia*), the wild cherry and three species of willow. S. of 62°–64° N. appears the lime tree, which multiplies rapidly and, notwithstanding the rapidity with which it is being exterminated, constitutes entire forests in the east (central Volga, Ufa). Farther S. the ash (*Fraxinus excelsior*) and the oak make their appearance, the latter (*Quercus pedunculata*) reaching in isolated groups and single trees as far N. as Petrograd and South Finland (*Q. Robur* appears only in the S.W.). The hornbeam is prevalent in the Ukraine, and the maple begins to appear in the S. of the coniferous region. In the forest region no fewer than 772 flowering species are found, of which 568 dicotyledons occur in the Archangel government (only 436 to the E. of the White Sea, which is a botanical limit for many species). In central Russia the species become still more numerous, and, though the local floras are not yet complete, they number 850 to 1050 species in the separate governments, and about 1600 in the best explored parts of the S.W. Corn is cultivated throughout this region. Its N. limits advance almost to the Arctic coast at Varanger Fjord, farther E. they hardly reach N. of Archangel, and the limit is still lower towards the Urals. The N. boundary of rye closely corresponds to that of barley. Wheat is cultivated in S. Finland, but in W. Russia it hardly gets N. of 58° N. Its true domains are the oak region and the steppes. Fruit trees are cultivated as far as 62° N. in Finland, and as far as 58° in the E. Apricots and walnuts flourish at Warsaw, but

n Russia they do not thrive beyond 50°. Apples, pears and cherries are grown throughout he oak region.

The *Region of the Steppes*, which is coincident with the whole of S. Russia, may be subdivided into two zones—an intermediate zone and that of the steppes proper. The ante-steppe of the preceding region and the intermediate zone of the steppes include those tracts n which the W. European climate contends against the Asiatic, and where a struggle is carried on between the forest and the steppe. It is comprised between the summer isotherms of 59° and 63°, being bounded on the S. by a line which runs through Ekaterinoslav and Lugañsk. S. of this line begin the steppes proper, which extend to the sea and penetrate to the foot of the Caucasus.

The steppes proper are very fertile, elevated plains, slightly undulating, and intersected by numerous ravines which are dry in summer. The undulations are scarcely apparent. Not a tree is to be seen, the few woods and thickets being hidden in the depressions and deep valleys of the rivers. On the thick layer of black earth by which the steppe is covered a luxuriant vegetation develops in spring; after the old grass has been burned a bright green prevails over immense stretches, but this rapidly disappears under the burning rays of the sun and the hot E. winds. The colouring of the steppe changes as if by magic, and only the silvery plumes of the steppe-grass (*Stipa pennata*) wave in the wind, tinting the steppe a bright yellow. For days together the traveller sees no other vegetation; even this, however, disappears as he approaches the regions recently left dry by the Caspian, where saline clays, bearing a few Salsolaceae, ormere sand, take the place of the black earth. Here begins the Aral-Caspian desert. The steppe, however, is not so devoid of trees as at first sight appears. Innumerable clusters of wild cherries (*Prunus chamaecerasus*), wild apricots (*Amygdalus nana*), the Siberian pea-tree (*Caragana frutescens*), and other deep-rooted shrubs grow at the bottoms of the depressions and on the slopes of the ravines, imparting to that steppe that charm which manifests itself in the popular poetry. Unfortunately the spread of cultivation is fatal to these oases (they are often called "islands" by the inhabitants); the axe and the plough ruthlessly destroy them.

The vegetation in the marshy bottoms of the ravines and in the valleys of the streams and rivers is totally different. The moist soil encourages luxuriant thickets of willows (Salicineae), surrounded by dense *chevaux-de-frise* of wormwood and thorn-bearing Compositae, and interspersed with rich but not extensive prairies, harbouring a great variety of herbaceous plants; while in the deltas of the Black Sea rivers impenetrable beds of reeds (*Arundo phragmites*) shelter a forest fauna. But cultivation rapidly changes the physiognomy of the steppe. The prairies are superseded by wheat-fields, and flocks of sheep destroy the true steppe-grass (*Stipa pennata*).

A great many species unknown in the forest region make their appearance in the steppes. The Scotch pine still grows on all sandy spaces, and the maple (*Acer tatarica* and *A. campestre*), the hornbeam and the black and white poplar are very common. The number of species of herbaceous plants rapidly increases, while beyond the Volga a variety of Asiatic species are added to the W. European flora.

The *Circum-Mediterranean Region* is represented by a narrow strip on the S. coast of the Crimea, where a climate similar to that of the Mediterranean coast has permitted the development of a flora closely resembling that of the valley of the Arno in Italy. Human cultivation has destroyed the abundant forests which sixty years ago made deer-hunting possible at Khersones. The olive and the chestnut are rare; but the beech reappears, and the *Pinus pinaster* recalls the Italian pines. At a few points, such as Nikita near Livadia and Alupka, where plants have been acclimatized by human agency, the Californian *Wellingtonia*, the Lebanon cedar, many evergreen trees, the laurel, the cypress, and even the Anatolian palm (*Chamaerops excelsa*) flourish. The grass vegetation is very rich, and, according to lists still incomplete, no fewer than 1654 flowering plants are known. But on the whole, the Crimean flora has little in common with that of the Caucasus.

Russia belongs to the same zoo-geographical region as central Europe and N. Asia, the same fauna extending in Siberia as far as the Yenisei and the Lena. In the forests not many animals which have disappeared from W. Europe have held their ground; while in the Urals only a few—now Siberian, but formerly also European—are met with. In S.E. Russia, however, towards the Caspian, there is a notable admixture of Asiatic species. Three separate sub-regions may, however, be distinguished on the E. European plains—the tundras, including the Arctic islands, the forest region, especially the coniferous part of it, and the ante-steppe and steppes of the black earth region. The Ural Mountains might be distinguished as a fourth sub-region, while the S. coast of the Crimea and Caucasia, as well as the Caspian deserts, have each their own individuality.

The fauna of the Arctic Ocean off the Norwegian coast corresponds, in its W. parts at least, to that of the N. Atlantic Gulf Stream. The White Sea and the Arctic Ocean to the E. of Svyatoi Nos on the Kola peninsula belong to a separate zoological region, connected with, and hardly separable from, that part of the Arctic Ocean which washes the Siberian coast as far as the mouth of the Lena. The Black Sea, the fauna of which appears to be very rich, belongs to the Mediterranean region, slightly modified, while the Caspian partakes of the characteristic fauna inhabiting the lakes and seas of the Aral-Caspian depression.

In the region of the tundras life has to contend with such unfavourable conditions that it cannot be abundant. Still, the reindeer frequents it for its lichens, and on the drier slopes of the moraine deposits there occur four species of lemming, hunted by the Arctic fox (*Vulpes lagopus*). The willow-grouse (*Lagopus albus*), the ptarmigan (*L. alpinus* or *mutus*), the lark, the snow-bunting (*Plectrophanes nivalis*), two or three species of *Sylvia*, one *Phylloscopus* and a *Motacilla* must be added. Numberless aquatic birds visit it for breeding purposes. Ducks, divers, geese, gulls, all the Russian species of snipes and sandpipers (*Limicolae, Tringae*), &c., swarm on the marshes of the tundras and on the crags of the Lapland coast.

The forest region, and especially its coniferous portion, though it has lost some of its representatives within historic times, still possesses an abundant fauna. The reindeer, rapidly disappearing, is now met with only in the governments of Olonets and Vologda; *Cervus pygargus* is found everywhere, and reaches Novgorod. The weasel, the fox and the hare are exceedingly common, as also are the wolf and the bear in the N., but the glutton (*Gulo borealis*), the lynx and the elk (*C. alces*) are rapidly disappearing. The wild boar is confined to the basin of the W. Dvina, and the *Bison europea* to the Byelovyezh forest in Grodno. The sable has quite disappeared, being found only on the Urals; the beaver may be trapped at a few places in Minsk, and the otter is very rare. On the other hand, the hare, grey partridge (*Perdix cinerea*), hedgehog, quail, lark, rook and stork find their way into the coniferous region as the forests are cleared. The avifauna of this region is very rich; it includes all the forest and garden birds known in W. Europe, as well as a very great variety of aquatic birds. A list, still incomplete, of the birds of Petrograd runs to 251 species. Hunting and shooting give occupation to a great number of persons. The reptiles are few. As for fishes, all those of W. Europe, except the carp, are met with in the lakes and rivers in immense quantities, the characteristic feature of the region being its wealth in *Coregoni* and in Salmonidae generally.

In the ante-steppe the forest species proper, such as *Pteromys volans* and *Tamias striatus*, disappear, but common squirrel (*Sciurus vulgaris*), weasel and bear are still met with in the forests. The hare is increasing rapidly, as well as the fox. The avifauna, of course, becomes poorer; nevertheless, the woods of the steppe, and still more the forests of the ante-steppe, give refuge to many birds, even to hazel-hen (*Tetrao bonasa*), capercailzie (*T. tetrix*) and woodcock (*T. urogallus*). The fauna of the scrub in the river valleys is decidedly rich, and includes aquatic birds. The destruction of the forests and the advance of wheat into the prairies are rapidly thinning the steppe fauna. The various species of rapacious animals are disappearing, together with the colonies of marmots; the insectivores are also becoming scarce in consequence of the destruction of insects; while vermin, such as the suslik, or pouched marmot (*Spermophilus*), and the destructive insects which are a scourge to agriculture, become a real plague. The absence of *Coregoni* is a characteristic feature of the fish-fauna of the steppes; the carp, on the contrary, reappears, and the rivers abound in sturgeon (Acipenseridae). In the Volga below Nizhniy-Novgorod the sturgeon (*Acipenser ruthenus*), and others of the same family, as well as a very great variety of ganoids and *Teleostei*, appear in such quantities that they give occupation to nearly 100,000 people. The mouths of the Caspian rivers are especially celebrated for their wealth of fish.

CHAPTER III

ETHNOGRAPHY

Ethnography.—Remains of Palaeolithic man, contemporary with the large Quaternary mammals, are few in Russia; they have been discovered only in Poland, Pottava and Voronezh, and perhaps also on the Oka. Those of the later Lacustrine period, on the contrary, are so numerous that there is scarcely one lacustrine basin in the regions of the Oka, the Kama, the Dnieper, not to speak of the lake-region itself, and even the White Sea coasts, where remains of Neolithic man have not been discovered. The Russian plains have been, however, the scene of so many migrations of successive races, that at many places a series of deposits belonging to widely distant epochs are found one upon another. Settlements belonging to the Stone age, and manufactories of stone implements, burial-grounds of the Bronze epoch, earthen forts and burial-mounds (*kurgans*)—of this last four different types are known, the earliest belonging to the Bronze period—are superposed, rendering the task of unravelling their several relations one of great difficulty.

Two different races—a brachycephalic and a dolichocephalic—can be distinguished among the remains of the earlier Stone period (Lacustrine period) as having inhabited the plains of E. Europe. But they are separated by so many generations from the earliest historic times that sure conclusions regarding them are impossible; at all events, as yet Russian archaeologists are not agreed as to whether the ancestors of the Slavs were Sarmatians only or Scythians also, whose skulls have nothing in common with those of the Mongol race. The earliest *data* which may be regarded as established belong to the 1st century, when the Finns migrated from the N. Dvina region towards the W., and the Sarmatians were compelled to abandon the region of the Don, and cross the Russian steppes from E. to W., under the pressure of the Aorzes (the Mordvinian Erzya) and Siraks, who in their turn were soon followed by the Huns and Uigur-Turkish Avars.

In the 7th century S. Russia was the seat of the empire of the Khazars, who drove the Bulgarians, descendants of the Huns, from the Don, one section of them migrating up the Volga to found there the Bulgarian empire, and the remainder travelling towards the Danube. This migration compelled the N. Finns to advance farther W., and a body of intermingled Tavasts and Karelians penetrated to the S. of the Gulf of Finland.

As early as the 8th century, and probably still earlier, a stream of Slav colonization, advancing E. from the Danube, poured over the plains of S.W. Russia. It is also most probable that another similar stream—the N., coming from the Elbe, through the basin of the Vistula—ought to be distinguished. In the 9th century the Slavs occupied the upper Vistula, the S. of the Russian lacustrine region, and the W. of the central plateau. They had Lithuanians to the W.; various Finnish tribes, intermingled towards the S.E. with Turkish (the present Bashkirs); the Bulgars, whose origin still remains doubtful, on the middle Volga and Kama; and to the S.E. the Turkish-Mongol races of the Pechenegs, Polovtsi, Uzes, &c., while in the S., along the Black Sea, was the empire of the Khazars, who had under their rule several Slav tribes, and perhaps also some of Finnish origin. In the 9th century also the Ugrians are supposed to have left their Ural abodes and to have traversed S.E. and S. Russia on their way to the basin of the Danube. If the Slavs be subdivided into three branches (the W. (Poles, Czechs and Wends), the S. (Servians, Bulgarians, Croatians, &c.),

and the E. (Great, Little and White Russians), it will be seen that, with the exception of some 3,000,000 Little Russians, now settled in East Galicia and in Poland, and of a few on the southern slope of the Carpathians, the whole of the E. Slavs occupy, as a compact body, W., central and S. Russia.

Like other races of mankind, the Russian race is not pure. The Russians have absorbed and assimilated in the course of their history a variety of Finnish and Turko-Finnish elements. Still, craniological researches show that, notwithstanding this fact, the Slav type has been maintained with remarkable persistency: Slav skulls ten and thirteen centuries old exhibit the same anthropological features as those which characterize the Slavs of our own day. This may be explained by a variety of causes, of which the chief is the maintenance by the Slavs down to a very late period of gentile or tribal organization and gentile marriages, a fact vouched for, not only in the pages of the Russian chronicler Nestor, but still more by visible social evidences, the *gens* later developing into the village community, and the colonization being carried on by large co-ordinated bodies of people. The Russians do not emigrate as isolated individuals; they migrate in whole villages. The overwhelming numerical superiority of the Slavs, and the very great differences in ethnical type, belief and mythology between the Indo-European and the Ural-Altaic races, may have contributed to the same end. Moreover, while a Russian man, far away from home among Siberians, readily marries a native, the Russian woman seldom does the like. All these causes, and especially the first-mentioned, have enabled the Slavs to maintain their ethnical purity in a relatively high degree, whereby they have been enabled to assimilate foreign elements and make them intensify or improve the ethnical type, without giving rise to half-breed races. The very same N. Russian type has thus been maintained from Novgorod to the Pacific, with but minor differentiations on the outskirts—and this notwithstanding the great variety of races with which the Russians have come into contact. But a closer observation of what is going on in the recently colonized confines of the empire —where whole villages live without mixing with the natives, but slowly bringing them over to the Russian manner of life, and then slowly taking in a few female elements from them—gives the key to this feature of Russian life.

Not so with the national customs. There are features—the wooden house, the oven, the bath—which the Russian never abandons, even when swamped in an alien population. But when settled among these the Russian—the N. Russian—readily adapts himself to many other differences. He speaks Finnish with Finns, Mongolian with Buriats, Ostiak with Ostiaks; he shows remarkable facility in adapting his agricultural practices to new conditions, without, however, abandoning the village community; he becomes hunter, cattle-breeder or fisherman, and carries on these occupations according to local usage; he modifies his dress and adapts his religious beliefs to the locality he inhabits. In consequence of all this, the Russian peasant (not, be it noted, the trader) proves himself to be an excellent colonist.

Three different branches can be distinguished among the Russians from the dawn of their history:—the Great Russians, the Little Russians (Malorusses or Ukrainians), and the White Russians (the Byelorusses). These correspond to the two currents of immigration mentioned above—the N. and S., with perhaps an intermediate stream, the proper place of the White Russians not having been as yet exactly determined. The primary distinctions between these branches have been increased during the last nine centuries by their contact with different nationalities—the Great Russians absorbing Finnish elements, the Little Russians undergoing an admixture of Turkish blood, and the White Russians submitting to Lithuanian influence. Moreover, notwithstanding the unity of language, it is easy to detect among the Great Russians themselves two separate branches, differing from one another by slight divergences of language and type and deep diversities of national character—the Central Russians and the Novgorodians. The latter extend throughout N. Russia into Siberia. Many minor anthropological differentiae can be distinguished among both the Great and the Little Russians, depending probably on the assimilation of various minor subdivisions of the Ural-Altaians.

The Great Russians occupy in one compact mass the space enclosed by a line drawn from the White Sea to Lake Pskov, the upper courses of the W. Dvina and the Donets, and thence, through the mouth of the Sura, by the Vetluga, to the Mezeñ. To the E. of this boundary they are intermingled with Turko-Finns, but in the Ural mountains they reappear in a second compact body, and thence extend through S. Siberia and along the courses of the Lena and the Amur. Great Russian Nonconformists are disseminated among Little Russians in the governments of Chernigov and Mogilev, and they reappear in greater masses in Novoroissa (*i.e.* S. Russia), as also in N. Caucasia.

The Little Russians occupy the steppes of S. Russia, the S.W. slopes of the central plateau and those of the Carpathian and Lublin mountains, and the Carpathian plateau; that is, the governments of Podolia, Volhynia, Poltava, and Kiev. The Zaporozhian Cossacks colonized the steppes farther E., towards the Don, where they met with a large population of Great Russian runaways, constituting the present Don Cossacks. The Zaporozhian Cossacks, sent by Catherine II. to colonize the E. coast of the Sea of Azov, constituted there the Black Sea and later the Kubañ Cossacks (part of whom, the Nekra-

sovsty, migrated to Turkey). They have also peopled large parts of the government of Stavropol and of N. Caucasia.

The White Russians, intermingled to some extent with Great and Little Russians, Poles and Lithuanians, occupy the upper parts of the W. slope of the central plateau.

The Finnish races, which in prehistoric times extended from the Ob all over N. Russia, even then were subdivided into Ugrians, Permyaks, Bulgarians and Finns proper, who drove back the previous Lapp population from what is now Finland, and about the 7th century penetrated to the S. of the Gulf of Finland, in the region of the Livs and Kurs, where they fused to some extent with the Lithuanians and the Letts. At present the races of Finnish origin are represented in Russia by the following: (*a*) the W. Finns; the Tavasts, in central Finland; the Kvaens, in N.W. Finland; the Karelians, in the E., who also occupy the lake regions of Olonets and Archangel, and have settlements in Novgorod and Tver; the Izhores, on the Neva and the S.E. coast of the Gulf of Finland; the Esths, in Esthonia and the N. of Livonia; the Livs, on the Gulf of Riga; and the Kurs, intermingled with the Letts; (*b*) the N. Finns, or Lapps, in N. Finland and on the Kola peninsula, and the Samoyedes in Archangel and W. Siberia; (*c*) the Volga Finns, or rather the old Bulgarian branch, to which belong the Mordvinians, and the Cheremisses in Kazañ, Kostroma and Vyatka, though they are classified by some authors with the following; (*d*) the Permyaks, or Cis-Uralian Finns, including the Votiaks on the E. of Vyatka, the Permyaks in Perm, the Syryenians or Zyryans in Vologda, Archangel, Vyatka and Perm; (*e*) the Ugrians, or Trans-Uralian Finns, including the Voguls on both slopes of the Urals, the Ostiaks in Tobolsk and partly in Tomsk, and the Magyars, or Ugrians.

The following are the chief subdivisions of the Turko-Tatars in European Russia:— (1) The Tatars, of whom three different branches must be distinguished: (*a*) the Kazañ Tatars on both banks of the Volga, below the mouth of the Oka, and on the lower Kama, but penetrating farther S. in Ryazañ, Tambov, Samara, Simbirsk and Penza; (*b*) the Tatars of Astrakhan at the mouth of the Volga; and (*c*) those of the Crimea, a great many of whom emigrated to Turkey after the Crimean War (1854–56). There are, besides, a certain number of Tatars in the S.E. in Minsk, Grodno and Vilna. (2) The Bashkirs, who inhabit the slopes of the S. Urals, that is, the steppes of Ufa and Orenburg, extend also into Perm and Samara. (3) The Chuvashes, on the right bank of the Volga, in Kazañ and Simbirsk. (4) The Meshcheryaks, a tribe of Finnish origin who formerly inhabited the basin of the Oka, and, driven thence during the 15th century by the Russian colonists, immigrated into Ufa and Perm, where they now live among the Baskhirs, having adopted their religion and customs. (5) The Teptyars, also of Finnish origin, settled among the Tatars and Bashkirs in Samara and Vyatka. The Bashkirs, Meshcheryaks and Teptyars rendered able service to the Russian government against the Khirgiz, and until 1863 they constituted a separate Cossack army. (6) The Khirgiz, whose true abodes were in Asia, in the Ishim and Khirgiz steppe. One section of them crossed the Urals and occupied the steppes between the Urals and the Volga; the remainder belong to Turkestan and Siberia.

The Mongol race is represented in Russia by the Kalmucks, who inhabit the steppes of Astrakhan between the Volga, the Don and the Kuma. They are Lamaists by religion and immigrated to the mouth of the Volga from Dzungaria, in the 17th century, driving out the Tatars and Nogais, and after many wars with the Don Cossacks, one part of them was taken in by the Don Cossacks, so that even now there are among these Cossacks several Kalmuck *sotnias* or squadrons. They live for the most part in tents, and support themselves by breeding live stock, and partly by agriculture.

The Semitic race is represented by upwards of 5,000,000 Jews. They first entered Poland from Germany during the era of the crusades, and soon spread through Lithuania, Courland, the Ukraine, and, in the 18th century, Bessarabia. The rapidity with which they peopled certain towns (*e.g.* Odessa) and whole provinces was really prodigious. The law of Russia prohibits them from entering Great Russia, only the wealthiest and best educated enjoying this privilege; nevertheless they are met with everywhere, even on the Urals. Their chief abodes, however, continue to be Poland, the W. provinces of Lithuania, White and Little Russia, and Bessarabia. In Russian Poland they constitute 13½ % of the total population. In Kovno, Vilna, Mogilev, Grodno, Volhynia, Podolia, Minsk, Vitebsk, Kiev, Bessarabia and Kherson, they constitute, on the average, 12 to 17½ % of the population, while in the cities and towns of these governments they reach 30 to 59 % of the population. Organized as they are into a kind of community for mutual protection and mutual help, they soon become masters of the trade wherever they penetrate. In the villages they are mostly innkeepers, intermediaries in trade and pawnbrokers. In many towns most of the skilled labourers and a great many of the unskilled (for instance, the grain-porters at Odessa and elsewhere) are Jews.

The Jews of the Karaite sect differ entirely from the orthodox Jews both in worship and in mode of life. They, too, are inclined to trade, but they also carry on agriculture successfully. Those inhabiting the Crimea speak Tatar, and the few who are settled in W. Russia speak Polish. They are on good terms with the Russians.

Of W. Europeans, the Germans only attain considerable numbers in European Russia. In the Baltic provinces they constitute the ennobled landlord class, and are the tradesmen

and artisans in the towns. Considerable numbers of Germans, tradesmen and artisans, settled at the invitation of the Russian government in many of the larger towns as early as the 16th century, and to a much greater extent in the 18th century. Numbers were invited in 1762 to settle in S. Russia, as separate agricultural colonies, and these have since then gradually extended into the Don region and N. Caucasia. Protected as they were by the right of self-government, exempted from military service, and endowed with considerable allotments of good land, these colonies are much wealthier than the neighbouring Russian peasants, from whom they have adopted the slowly modified village community. They are chiefly Lutherans, but many of them belong to other religious sects—Anabaptists, Moravians, Mennonites. During the closing years of the 19th century great numbers of Germans flocked into the industrial governments of Poland, namely, Piotrkow, Warsaw and Kalisz.

The Rumanians (Moldavians) inhabit the governments of Bessarabia, Podolia, Kherson and Ekaterinoslav. In Bessarabia they constitute from one-fourth to three-fourths of the population of certain districts, and nearly 50 % of the entire population of the government. On the whole the Novorossian governments (Bessarabia, Kherson, Ekaterinoslav and Taurida) exhibit the greatest variety of population. Little and Great Russians, Rumanians, Bulgarians, Germans, Greeks, Frenchmen, Poles, Tatars and Jews are mingled together and scattered about in small colonies, especially in Bessarabia. The Greeks inhabit chiefly the towns, where they are traders, as also do the Armenians, scattered through the towns of S. Russia, and appearing in larger numbers only in the district of Rostov.

The Lithuanians prevail in Kovno, Vilna and Suwalki ; and the Letts, who are, however, more scattered, are chiefly concentrated in Vitebsk, Courland and Livonia.

In the Baltic provinces (Esthonia, Livonia and Courland) the prevailing population is Esthonian, Kuronian or Lettish, the Germans being respectively only 3·8, 7·6 and 8·2 % of the population. The relations of the Esths and Letts with their landlords are anything but friendly.

The governments of Petrograd (apart from the capital), Olonets and Archangel contain an admixture of Karelians, Samoyedes and Syryenians, the remainder being Great Russians. In the E. and S.E. provinces of the Volga (Nizhniy-Novgorod, Simbirsk, Samara, Penza and Saratov) the Great Russians prevail, the remainder being chiefly Mordvinians, Tatars, Chuvashes and Bashkirs, Germans in Samara and Saratov, and Little Russians in the last named. In the Ural governments of Perm and Vyatka Great Russians are in the majority, the remainder being a variety of Finno-Tatars. In the S. Ural governments (Uralsk, Orenburg, Ufa) the admixture of Turko-Tatars—of Kirghiz in Uralsk, Bashkirs in Orenburg and Ufa, and less important races—becomes considerable.

CHAPTER IV

RELIGION

THE state religion is that of the Orthodox Greek Church (Orthodox Catholic or Orthodox Eastern Church). Its head is the tsar; but although he makes and annuls all appointments, he does not determine questions of dogmatic theology. The principal ecclesiastical authority is the Holy Synod, the head of which, the Procurator, is one of the council of ministers and exercises very wide powers in ecclesiastical matters. In theory all religions may be freely professed, except that certain restrictions, such as domicile,[1] are laid upon the Jews; but in actual fact the dissenting sects are more or less severely treated. According to returns published in 1905 the adherents of the different religious communities in the whole of the Russian empire numbered approximately as follows, though the heading Orthodox Greek includes a very great many *Raskolniki* or Dissenters. Indeed it is estimated that there are more than 12,000,000 Dissenters in Great Russia alone.

Orthodox Greek	87,123,600
Dissenters	2,204,600
Armenian Gregorians	1,179,240
Armenian Catholics	38,840
Roman Catholics	11,468,000
Lutherans	3,572,650
Reformed	85,400
Baptists	38,140
Mennonites	66,560
Anglicans	4,180
Other Christians	3,950
Karaite Jews	12,900
Jews	5,215,800
Mahommedans	13,907,000
Buddhists	433,860
Other non-Christians	285,300
Total	125,640,020

The ecclesiastical heads of the national Orthodox Greek Church consist of three metropolitans (Petrograd, Moscow, Kiev), fourteen archbishops and fifty bishops, all drawn from the ranks of the monastic (celibate) clergy. The parochial clergy are celibate in so far as they must be married when appointed, but if left widowers may not marry again.

All Russians, with the exception of a number of White Russians who belong to the United Greek Church profess the Orthodox Greek faith or belong to one or other of the numberless dissident sects. The Poles and most of the Lithuanians are Roman Catholics. The Esths and all other Western Finns, the Germans and the Swedes are Protestant. The Tatars, Bashkirs and Kirghiz are Mahommedans; but the last-named have to a great extent maintained along with Mahommedanism their old Shamanism. The same holds good of the Meshcheryaks, both Moslem and Christian. The Mordvinians are nearly all Orthodox Greek, as also are the Votyaks, Voguls, Cheremisses and Chuvashes, but their religions are, in reality, modifications of Shamanism under the influence of some Christian and Moslem beliefs. The Moguls, though baptized, are in fact believers in fetishism as much as the unconverted Samoyedes. Finally, the Kalmucks are Lamaite Buddhists.

[1] The restrictions on domicile were to some extent relaxed in the beginning of 1907.

In his relations with Moslems, Buddhists and even fetishists the Russian peasant looks rather to conduct than to creed, the latter being in his view simply a matter of nationality. Indeed, towards paganism, at least, he is perhaps even more than tolerant, preferring on the whole to keep on good terms with pagan divinities. The numerous outbreaks against the Jews are directed, not against their creed, but against them as keen business men and extortionate money-lenders. Any idea of proselytism is quite foreign to the ordinary Russian mind, and the outbursts of proselytizing zeal occasionally manifested by the clergy are really due to the desire for " Russification," and traceable to the influence of the higher clergy and of the government.

It is this political rather than religious spirit which also underlies the repressive attitude of the government, and of the Orthodox Church as the organ of the government, towards the various dissident sects (*Raskolniki*, from *raskol*, schism), which for more than two centuries past have played an important part in the popular life of Russia, and, since the political developments of the end of the 19th and early years of the 20th century, have tended to do so more and more. To understand the problem of the *Raskolniki* it is necessary to bear two things in mind : the fundamental principle of Eastern Orthodoxy as distinct from Western Catholicism, and the practical identification in Russia of the National Church with the National State. The very basis of Orthodoxy is that the Church is by Christ's ordinance unalterable, that its traditional forms, every one of which is a vehicle of saving grace, were established in the beginning by Christ and his apostles, and that consequently nothing may be added or altered. The trouble began early in the 17th century with the attempt, made in connexion with the printing of the liturgical books, to emend certain ritual details in which there was proved to have been a departure from primitive usage ;[1] it came to a head under the patriarch Nikon. Under his influence a synod endorsed the changes in 1654 ; one bishop alone, Paul of Colomna, dissented, and he was deposed, knouted and kept in prison till he died mad. In 1656 the synod anathematized the adherents of the old forms, and the anathema was confirmed by those of 1666 and 1667. To the conservatives, known subsequently as Old Ritualists or Old Believers, this marked the beginning of the reign of Antichrist (was not 666 the number of the Beast ?) ; but they continued the struggle, conservative opposition to the Westernizing policy of the tsars, which was held responsible for the introduction of Polish luxury and Latin heresy, giving it a political as well as a religious character. The rising of the Strelitsi in 1682 all but gave them the victory ; the crushing of the rising relegated them definitely to the status of schismatics. They were placed in still completer antagonism to the established Orthodox Church by the innovations of Peter the Great. The Muscovite tsars had pursued them with fire and sword. The Russian emperors, having established themselves as heads of the Church and the Holy Synod as a state department, were not likely willingly to tolerate their existence.

The *Raskol* was threatened with extinction by the gradual dying out of its priests, which led to a further schism within itself, into the *Popovshchina* (with priests) and the *Bezpopovshchina* (without priests). The *Popovsti*, who were served by priests converted from the Orthodox Church, made their headquarters in the island of Werka, in a tributary of the Dnieper, in Poland (1695), and after its destruction by the government in 1735 and again in 1764, at Starodubye in the government of Chernigov, whence their doctrine spread in the country of the Don. In 1771 their headquarters were fixed at Moscow, in the Rogoshkiy cemetery assigned to them during the plague ; here they had a monastery, seminary and consistory, until they were ejected by the emperor Nicholas I. In 1832 priests were forbidden to join them, and they had to apply to a deposed Bosnian metropolitan, who became their chief bishop, establishing his see in the monastery of Belokrinitsa in Bukovina. In 1862 the synod of the *Popovshchina* passed a circular letter making advances to the government with a view to a compromise, which was arranged on the basis of the Old Believers consenting to accept the ministrations of Orthodox priests on condition that they should use the unrevised books. This led to a further schism into three sections : those who recognize the metropolitan and the compromise (*Edinovyertsi*), those who recognize the metropolitan but repudiate the compromise, those who repudiate both (*Bieglopopovtsi*). There had already been other schisms on such questions as the right way to swing a censer and the legality of self-immolation for the Lord's sake.

The *Bezpopovtsi*, known also as *Pomoranye*, because they are mainly found in the sparsely populated country near the White Sea, are in some ways more remarkable. They reject the ministration of priests altogether, since from the time of Antichrist (*i.e.* the heretic tsar) the only sacrament that remains is baptism. They therefore elect elders, who expound the Scriptures, baptize and hear confessions. They are, however, in no sense evangelicals in the Western sense ; for they observe rigorous fasts, reverence icons, and believe implicitly in the efficacy of the multiplication of crossings, bowings and prostrations. They have, moreover, thrown off from time to time a number of extravagant offshoots. Such are the *Philippovsti*, founded by one Philip (who burned himself alive for Christ's sake in

[1] The most important alterations were the repetition twice, instead of three times, of the " Alleluiah " at the Eucharist, and the making the sign of the cross with two fingers instead of three.

1743), who have exalted self-immolation into a principle; the *Stranniki* (pilgrims) and *Byeguni* (runners), who interpret Matt. x. 37 ff. literally, and reject legal marriage; the *Nyetovsti* (denyers), who deny the necessity for common worship, since there are no priests; the *Molchalyniki* (mutes), whom no torture can persuade to utter a word.

Closely akin to these, though not derived from the Old Believers, are certain mystic sects which deny the efficacy of the sacraments altogether. Of these the most remarkable are the so-called *Khlysti* ("flagellants," from *klyesat*, "to strike, lash," but possibly a corruption of Khristi, "Christs"). They originated in 1645, when, according to their belief, God the Father descended in a chariot of fire on Mount Gorodim, in the province of Vladimir, and took up his abode in a peasant named Daniel Philippov, who chose another peasant, named Ivan Suslov, for his son, the Christ. Suslov selected a "mother of God" and twelve apostles. Though twice crucified and once flayed by order of the tsar, he always rose again, and did not die till 1716. Suslov chose a successor in one Prokopiy Lupkin, and since then—in the belief of the sect—every generation, even every community, has had its Christ and its "mother of God," who are worshipped by reason of the Divine Spirit dwelling in them. It is the duty of all believers to strive to become one or other of these by subduing the flesh, which is the product of Evil, and all motions of the will. Each community is presided over by an "angel," or prophet, and a prophetess, whose word is law. All alike are subject to the twelve commandments issued by the "Sabaoth," that is to say Daniel Philippov. These include the prohibition of alcoholic drink, of fleshly sins and of marriage, and the inculcation of faith in the Holy Ghost and complete surrender to his influence. At their prayer-meetings the Khlysti dance to the accompaniment of hymns, the dance gradually developing into a wild dervish-like spinning which is kept up till they drop, foaming at the mouth and prophesying. Perhaps the most remarkable fact about this sect is that it is secret, and that its members ostensibly belong to the Orthodox Church.

An offshoot of the Khlysti is the more celebrated secret sect of the *Skoptsi* (*skopets*, a eunuch), which represents an extreme ascetic reaction from the promiscuous immorality of some (by no means all) of the Khlysti. Their idea of attaining salvation is self-mutilation according to the counsel of perfection implied in Matt. xix. 12 and xviii. 8, 9. The "royal seal" is complete self-castration; partial mutilation is known as the "second purity." In the case of women the mutilation usually takes the form of amputation of the breasts. This horrible sect, which was founded by one Selivanov in the last quarter of the 18th century, seems to have a morbid attraction for people of all classes in Russia, and all the efforts of the government have not succeeded in stamping it out.

Closer akin to certain Western forms of dissidence from traditional Catholicism, though of native growth, are the *Molokani*, so called popularly because they continue to drink milk (*moloko*) during fasts. Their origin is unknown, but they are officially mentioned as early as 1765. They style themselves "truly spiritual Christians," and in their rejection of the sacraments, their indifference to outward forms, and their insistence on the spiritual interpretation of the Bible ("the letter killeth"), they are closely akin to the Quakers, whom they resemble also in their inoffensive mode of life and the practice of mutual help. From the Molokani the *Dukhobortsi*, in England better known as Doukhobors, are distinguished by their subordination of the Scriptures to the authority of the "inner light." They are dualists, like the Bogomils, ascribing the body to a fall from a state when the soul was on the same plane as God. The Incarnation was no isolated historical occurrence, but it is repeated over and over again in the faithful, each one of whom is in a certain sense God, by virtue of the indwelling Spirit. Both the Molokani and the Dukhobortsi deny the authority of the civil government as such, and object on principle to military service. The former, however, give little trouble; on the other hand, the government has from time to time proceeded with extreme severity against the Dukhobortsi, whose refusal to serve in the army, if allowed to go unpunished, would have set a contagious example.

Dissidence of all kinds has made a considerable advance since the emancipation of the serfs in 1861, the increase—as might be expected in a wholly illiterate population—being greatest in the more extravagant sects. On the other hand, Western Protestantism has also made great headway, notably the Stundists, whose rationalistic-Protestant teaching has gained a firm foothold especially in Little Russia, where the *Raskol* never penetrated. The Baptists have also made considerable progress, notably among the Molokani.

CHAPTER V

EDUCATION AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS

Previous to the revolution of 1905 but little progress had been made in Russia as regards education.[1] Distrust of the natural sciences, even in their technical applications, and of Western ideas of free government; desire to make university education, and even secondary education, a privilege of the wealthier classes; neglect of primary education, coupled with suppression by the ministry of public instruction of all initiative, private and public, in the matter of disseminating education among the illiterate classes—these were the distinctive features of the educational policy of the last twenty years of the 19th century. It was only towards its close that a change took place in the attitude of the government towards technical education, and a few high and middle technical schools were opened. It was only then, too, that a reform was started in secondary education, with the object of revising the so-called "classical" system favoured in the lyceums since the 'seventies, the complete failure of which has been demonstrated after nearly thirty years of experiment. Apart from the schools under the ministry of war (Cossack *voiskos* and schools at the barracks), the great bulk of the primary schools are either under the ministry of public instruction or of the Holy Synod. Those under the latter body are of recent growth, the policy of the last twenty years of the 19th century having been to hand over the budget allowances for primary instruction to the Holy Synod, which opened parish schools under the local priests. The schools under the Synod are themselves divided into two categories; parish schools and reading schools of an inferior grade. No teaching certificate is required by the teachers in either class of school, the permission of the bishop (like the French *lettre d'obédience* of 1849) being sufficient. The consequence is, that the village priests, being too much occupied with their parochial duties, cannot give more than casual or perfunctory attention to the schools, and the numerous pupils either exist on paper only, or are handed over to half-educated cantors, deacons or hired teachers. One good feature of the Russian primary school system, however, is that in many villages there are school gardens or fields; in nearly 1000 schools, bee-keeping, and in 300 silkworm culture is taught; while in some 900 schools the children receive instruction in various trades; and in 300 schools in *slöjd* (a system of manual training originated in Finland). Girls are taught handwork in many schools. Nearly 50 % of the teachers are women. The total expenditure on primary schools in 1900 was £5,300,000 (about the average in recent years), of which 20 % was supplied by the state, 23 % by the *zemstvos*, 35½ % by the village communities and the municipalities and 11½ % by private persons. The middle schools are maintained by the state, which contributes 25 % of the expenditure of the classical and technical schools, by the fees of the pupils (30 %), and by donations from the *zemstvos* and municipalities. The total grants from the state exchequer for education of all grades in all parts of the empire

[1] Of the effects of the political changes in Russia on the educational system of the country it was, even in the autumn of 1910, too early to say anything save that an undoubted impetus had been given to the effort for improvement, and that the question had been seriously taken in hand by the imperial administration and the Duma. What form it would ultimately take depended still on the balance between the forces of conservatism and change, the suspicious temper of the autocracy being revealed, during the years of unstable equilibrium, by the alternate concession and withdrawal of privileges, *e.g.* in the matter of the independence of the universities. Any account of the educational system cannot, therefore, be otherwise than historical and provisional.

amounted in 1906 to £8,107,000. The progress of primary education is illustrated by the fact that, while in 1885 there was one school for every 2665 inhabitants and one pupil for every 48 inhabitants, in 1898 the figures were 1643 and 31 inhabitants respectively. According to the census of 1897 the number of illiterates varied from 89·2 to 44·9 % of the population in the rural districts, and from 63·6 to 37·2 % in the urban.

For higher education there were in 1904 only 9 universities (Yuriev or Dorpat, Kazañ, Kharkov, Kiev, Moscow, Odessa, Petrograd, Warsaw and Tomsk), with 19,400 students, 6 medical academies (one for women), 6 theological academies, 6 military academies, 5 philological institutes, 3 Eastern languages institutes, 3 law schools, 4 veterinary institutes, 4 agricultural colleges, 2 mining institutes, 4 engineering institutes, 2 universities for women (930 students at Petrograd), 3 technical pedagogic schools, 10 technical institutes, 1 forestry and 1 topographical school. There has, however, been much activity since 1905 in the establishment of new educational institutions, notably technical and commercial schools, which are placed under the new minister of commerce and industry. Finland has a university of its own at Helsingfors.

The standard of teaching in the universities is on the whole very high, and may be compared to that of the German universities. The students are hard working, and generally very intelligent. Mostly sons of poor parents, they live in extreme poverty, supporting themselves chiefly by translating and by tutorial work.

The state of secondary education still leaves much to be desired. The steady tendency of Russian society towards increasing the number of secondary schools, where instruction would be based on the study of the natural sciences, is checked by the government in favour of the classical gymnasiums.[1] Sunday Schools and public lectures are virtually prohibited.

A characteristic feature of the intellectual movement in Russia is its tendency to extend to women the means of higher instruction. The gymnasiums for girls are both numerous and good. In addition to these, notwithstanding government opposition, a series of higher schools, in which careful instruction is given in natural and social sciences, have been opened in the chief cities under the name of "pedagogical courses." At Petrograd a women's medical academy, the examinations of which were even more searching than those of the ordinary academy (especially as regards diseases of women and children), was opened, but after about one hundred women had received the degree of M.D. it was suppressed by government. In several university towns there are free teaching establishments for women, supported by subscription, with programmes and examinations equal to those of the universities.

The natural sciences are much cultivated in Russia. Besides the Academy of Science, the Moscow Society of Naturalists, the Mineralogical Society, the Geographical Society, with its Caucasian and Siberian branches, the archaeological societies and the scientific societies of the Baltic provinces, all of which are of old and recognized standing, there have lately sprung up a series of new societies in connection with each university, and their serials are yearly growing in importance, as, too, are those of the Moscow Society of Friends of Natural Science, the Chemico-Physical Society, and various medical, educational and other associations. The work achieved by Russian savants, especially in biology, physiology and chemistry, and in the sciences descriptive of the vast territory of Russia, is well known to Europe.

Social Conditions.—The old subdivisions of the population into orders possessed of unequal rights is still maintained. The great mass of the people, 81·6 %, belong to the peasant order, the others being: nobility, 1·3 %; clergy, 0·9; the burghers and merchants, 9·3; and military, 6·1. Thus more than 88 millions of the Russians are peasants. Half of them were formerly serfs (10,447,149 males in 1858)—the remainder being "state peasants" (9,194,891 males in 1858, exclusive of the Archangel government) and "domain peasants" (842,740 males the same year).

The serfdom which had sprung up in Russia in the 16th century, and became consecrated by law in 1609, taking, however, nearly one hundred and fifty years to attain its full growth, was abolished in 1861. This act liberated the serfs from a yoke which was really terrible, even under the best landlords, and from this point of view it was obviously an immense benefit.[2] But it was far from securing corresponding economic results.

The household servants or dependents attached to the personal service of their masters were merely set free; and they entirely went to reinforce the town proletariat. The peasants proper received their houses and orchards, and allotments of arable land. These allotments were given over to the rural commune (*mir*), which was made responsible, as a whole, for the payment of taxes for the allotments. For these allotments the peasants had to pay, as before, either by personal labour or by a fixed rent. The allotments could be redeemed by them with the help of the crown, and then they were freed from all obligations to the landlord. The crown paid the landlord in obligations representing the capital-

[1] An imperial rescript of 10th of June 1902 foreshadowed a reorganization of secondary education, and an imperial *ukaz* of 15th of March 1903 laid down the lines on which this was to proceed. The old curriculum of the *Real* schools is now superseded.

[2] It was only as late as 1904, however, that the landed proprietors were forbidden by law to inflict corporal punishment upon the peasants.

ized rent, and the peasants had to pay the crown, for forty-nine years, 6 % interest on this capital. The redemption was not calculated on the value of the allotments of land, but was considered as a compensation for the loss of the compulsory labour of the serfs; so that throughout Russia, with the exception of a few provinces in the S.E., it was—and still remains, notwithstanding a very great increase in the value of land—much higher than the market value of the allotment. Moreover, many proprietors contrived to curtail seriously the allotments which the peasants had possessed under serfdom, and frequently they deprived them of precisely the parts which they were most in need of, namely, pasture lands around their houses, and forests. The effect of this, craftily calculated beforehand, was to compel the peasants to rent pasture lands from the landlord at any price.

The present condition of the peasants—according to official documents—appears to be as follows. In the twelve central governments they grow, on the average, sufficient rye-bread for only 200 days in the year—often for only 180 and 100 days. One quarter of them have received allotments of only 2·9 acres per male, and one-half less than 8·5 to 11·4 acres—the normal size of the allotment necessary to the subsistence of a family under the three-fields system being estimated at 28 to 42 acres. Land must thus of necessity be rented from the landlords at fabulous prices. The aggregate value of the redemption and land taxes often reaches 185 to 275 % of the normal rental value of the allotments, not to speak of taxes for recruiting purposes, the church, roads, local administration and so on, chiefly levied from the peasants. The arrears increase every year; one-fifth of the inhabitants have left their houses; cattle are disappearing. Every year more than half the adult males (in some districts three-fourths of the men and one-third of the women) quit their homes and wander throughout Russia in search of labour. In the governments of the black-earth region the state of matters is hardly better. Many peasants took the "gratuitous allotments," whose amount was about one-eighth of the normal allotments.

The average allotment in Kherson is only 0·90 acre, and for allotments from 2·9 to 5·8 acres the peasants pay 5 to 10 roubles of redemption tax. The state peasants are better off, but still they are emigrating in masses. It is only in the steppe governments that the situation is more hopeful. In Little Russia, where the allotments were personal (the *mir* existing only among state peasants), the state of affairs does not differ for the better, on account of the high redemption taxes. In the W. provinces, where the land was valued cheaper and the allotments somewhat increased after the Polish insurrection, the general situation might be better were it not for the former misery of the peasants. Finally, in the Baltic provinces nearly all the land belongs to the German landlords, who either farm the land themselves, with hired labourers, or let it in small farms. Only one-fourth of the peasants are farmers, the remainder being mere labourers, who are emigrating in great numbers.

The situation of the former serf-proprietors is also unsatisfactory. Accustomed to the use of compulsory labour, they have failed to accommodate themselves to the new conditions. The millions of roubles of redemption money received from the crown have been spent without any real or lasting agricultural improvements having been effected. The forests have been sold, and only those landlords are prospering who exact rack-rents for the land without which the peasants could not live upon their allotments. During the years 1861 to 1892 the land owned by the nobles decreased 30 %, or from 210,000,000 to 150,000,000 acres; during the following four years an additional 2,119,500 acres were sold; and since then the sales have gone on at an accelerated rate, until in 1903 alone close upon 2,000,000 acres passed out of their hands. On the other hand, since 1861, and more especially since 1882, when the Peasant Land Bank was founded for making advances to peasants who were desirous of purchasing land, the former serfs, or rather their descendants, have between 1883 and 1904 bought about 19,500,000 acres from their former masters. There has been an increase of wealth among the few, but along with this a general impoverishment of the mass of the people, and the peculiar institution of the *mir*, framed on the principle of community of ownership and occupation of the land, was not conducive to the growth of individual effort. In November 1906, however, the emperor Nicholas II. promulgated a provisional *ukaz* permitting the peasants to become freeholders of allotments made at the time of emancipation, all redemption dues being remitted. This measure, which was endorsed by the third Duma in an act passed on the 21st of December 1908, is calculated to have far-reaching and profound effects upon the rural economy of Russia. Thirteen years previously the government had endeavoured to secure greater fixity and permanence of tenure by providing that at least twelve years must elapse between every two redistributions of the land belonging to a *mir* amongst those entitled to share in it. The *ukaz* of November 1906 had provided that the various strips of land held by each peasant should be merged into a single holding; the Duma, however, on the advice of the government, left this to the future, as an ideal that could only gradually be realized.

The co-operative spirit of the Great Russians shows itself in another sphere in the *artel*, which has been a prominent feature of Russian life since the dawn of history. The artel very much resembles the co-operative society of W. Europe, with this difference that it makes its appearance without any impulse from theory, simply as a spontaneous outgrowth of popular life. When workmen from any province come, for instance, to

Petrograd to engage in the textile industries, or to work as carpenters, masons, &c., they immediately unite in groups of ten to fifty persons, settle in a house together, keep a common table and pay each his part of the expense to the elected elder of the artel. All over Russia there is a network of such artels—in the cities, in the forests, on the banks of the rivers, on journeys and even in the prisons.

The industrial artel is almost as frequent as the preceding, in all those trades which admit of it. Artels of one or two hundred carpenters, bricklayers, &c., are common wherever new buildings have to be erected, or railways or bridges constructed ; the contractors always prefer to deal with an artel, rather than with separate workmen. It is needless to add that the wages divided by the artels are higher than those earned by isolated workmen.

Finally, a great number of artels on the stock exchange, in the seaports, in the great cities, during the great fairs and on railways have grown up, and have acquired the confidence of tradespeople to such an extent that considerable sums of money and complicated banking operations are frequently handed over to an artelshik (member of an artel) without any receipt, his number or his name being accepted as sufficient guarantee. These artels are recruited only on personal acquaintance with the candidates for membership. Co-operative societies have also been organized by several *zemstvos*. They have achieved good results, but do not exhibit, on the whole, the same unity of organization as those which have arisen in a natural way among the peasants and artisans.

CHAPTER VI

AGRICULTURE AND MINING

The chief occupation of approximately seven-eighths of the population of European Russia is agriculture, but its character varies considerably according to the soil, the climate and the geographical position of the different regions. A sinuous line drawn from Zhitomir via Kiev, Tula and Kazañ to Ufa—that is, from W.S.W. to E.N.E.—separates the "northern soils" from the "southern soils." To the S. of this line, as far as the sandy deserts of Astrakhan and the steppes of N. Caucasia, lies the "black earth" region. Broadly speaking, the forests here yield to steppes, and the soil is very fertile; but the whole region suffers periodically from drought. The "northern soils," which are glacial deposits more or less redistributed by water, are much less fertile as a rule, and consist of all possible varieties from a tough boulder clay to loose sand. Both N. and S. of this line it is customary to distinguish several zones, lying, generally, parallel to it, and differentiated chiefly by climatic differences. In the tundras of the extreme N. agriculture does not exist; the reindeer constitutes the principal wealth of the nomad Samoyedes and Lapps. In the forest region S. of the tundras, which extends over an area of more than 500,000 sq. m., agriculture is carried on with great difficulty, not only because of the infertility of the soil, but also because of the severity of the climate and the fact that there are only three to four months in the year during which agriculture can be carried on. Apart from hunting and fishing, the exploitation of the forests provides the principal occupation of the inhabitants. Crops, chiefly barley, rye, oats, turnips and green crops, are, however, grown on clearings in the forest, though the yield is poor. S. of 60° N. agriculture becomes the predominant industry, while the exploitation of the forests plays only a secondary part. In this zone, which extends over an area of nearly 600,000 sq. m., and on the S. touches the agrarian line already mentioned, the principal crops are rye and oats, with barley and wheat coming next, though flax and green crops are also grown. Cattle have to be housed for the winter. In the W. of this zone, that is in the Baltic provinces, the climate is less severe as well as moister. Agriculture is carried on in a more intelligent manner, and the yield is higher. Flax is almost of as much importance as wheat, and the potato is more cultivated than in any other part of Russia. Hardy fruit thrives, and live-stock breeding prospers. In the W. governments of Kovno, Vitebsk, Vilna, Mogilev, Minsk and Grodno the climate is more temperate, but agriculture is more backward than in the Baltic provinces. The three-field system of cropping a patch of land until its fertility is exhausted, and then allowing it to revert to the primeval condition, is still pursued, and both landowners and peasantry suffer from want of capital and lack of agricultural training. Flax is one of the principal exports of this region, timber being another.

In middle Russia the winters are both longer and harder, and agriculture is consequently carried on under greater difficulties. One of the most serious of these is caused not by the unfavourable character of the climate but by the shortness of labour. Since their emancipation in 1861, the peasants of the central governments of Russia have in large numbers drifted away into the black earth zone, or have gone to the factories. The methods of agriculture are still unscientific and unprogressive. Rye is the staple crop, though buckwheat, flax, green crops and the potato are cultivated in considerable quantities.

Agriculture is most advanced in the W. of the black earth zone, that is in the

governments of Kiev, Podolia, Poltava and in part of Kharkov. The winters are less severe, and modern agricultural machinery is generally employed, at all events on the larger estates. In consequence of these more favourable conditions there is greater variety in the cropping; a good deal of wheat is grown, as well as beetroot for sugar, fibre plants and oleaginous plants, fruit, and even (W. of the Dnieper) the vine. Live-stock breeding is likewise in a more prosperous condition. The rest of the black earth zone, which stretches from these governments N.E. to the Volga, is less favoured by nature; the winters are longer and more inclement, and droughts are not uncommon. When this happens there is great suffering from famine, for wheat is the crop upon which the people principally depend, though rye, buckwheat and oats are also cultivated. But a long course of continuous cropping with these grain crops, without affording compensation to the soil in the form of manure or deep cultivation, has so exhausted it that its productiveness has sadly deteriorated. The consequence is that the peasantry are constantly in a state bordering on destitution, and exposed to the horrors of famine, like those which visited them in 1890 and 1898, and threatened in 1907.

S. of the above zone come the S. steppes. In the W., in Bessarabia, the three chief products are maize, wine and hardy fruit, especially plums. Here the climate is temperate and fairly moist, but farther E. it is distinctly more arid. Wheat is the principal crop, with barley second. Water-melons, sun-flowers and flax, both the last two for oil, are usual crops. But the breeding of horses and sheep is of equal importance with agriculture. Here again both capital and labour are short, and the cultivation of the soil suffers from the fact that, owing to the absence of timber, dry dung is used for fuel instead of being employed as manure. The steppe conditions extend over the greater part of the Crimea and up to the foothills of the Caucasus. The actual distribution of arable land, forests and meadows, in European Russia and Poland is shown in the following table:

	European Russia.		Poland.	
	Acres.	Percentage.	Acres.	Percentage.
Arable land	301,435,000	26	16,900,000	3
Meadows and pasturages .	185,498,000	16	6,059,000	19
Forests	452,152,000	39	7,334,000	23
Uncultivated . . .	220,279,000	19	1,594,000	5
Total . . .	1,159,364,000	100	31,887,000	100

The land in European Russia and Poland (Caucasia being excluded) is divided amongst the different classes of owners as follows:

	European Russia.		Poland.	
	Acres.	Percentage.	Acres.	Percentage.
State and imperial family .	400,816,000	35	1,808,000	5½
Peasants	446,657,000	38½	13,584,000	42½
Private owners, towns, &c.	245,835,000	21	15,106,000	47½
Unfit for cultivation . .	66,056,000	5½	1,389,000	4½
Total . . .	1,159,364,000	100	31,887,000	100

Down to 1st January 1903, the peasants had actually redeemed out of the land allotted to them in 1861 a total of 280,530,516 acres. In Poland the peasants as a body have, in addition to the land thus assigned to them by the government, bought some 2½ million acres since 1863, and of this quantity they purchased no less than 1,600,000 acres, or 64 % of the whole, between 1893 and 1905.

Taking the whole of European Russia and Poland, almost exactly two-thirds of the total area is sown every year with cereals. But generally in from 18 to 33 out of the 72 governments in European Russia (including Caucasia) and Poland the yield of cereals is not sufficient for the wants of the people. In 30 to 40 governments, however, there is in most years a surplus available for export. Out of the total acreage under cereals 34 % is generally sown with rye, 26 % with wheat, 20 % with oats and 10½ % with barley. Beetroot (6–8 million tons annually) for sugar is especially cultivated in Poland, the governments of Kiev, Podolia, Volhynia, Kharkov, Bessarabia and Kherson. About 100,000 tons of tobacco are grown annually in the S. Flax and hemp occupy considerable acreages in central and N.W. Russia. The vine is cultivated as far N. as 49° N. (in Bessarabia, Crimea, Don Cossacks territory and Caucasia), the annual production of wine amounting to 35–50 million gallons, three-fifths in Caucasia. Market-gardening and fruit-growing are profitable

occupations in certain parts of S. and central Russia, and have led recently to the establishment of factories for canning fruit and for making jam and pickles. Transcaucasia supplies, chiefly from the government of Erivan, some 12,000 tons of raw cotton annually. The tea plant thrives and is being planted fairly rapidly on the Black Sea littoral in Transcaucasia.

Live-stock are diminishing in numbers all round: in the case of horses, from 21 per 100 inhabitants in 1882 to 11 per 100 inhabitants in 1904; of cattle, from 31 in 1851 to 23 in 1882 and 27 in 1904; sheep, from 56 to 46 and 41 in the years named respectively; and pigs, from 13 to 9 and 10 respectively. Recent investigations in the government of Moscow have revealed that 40 % of the peasant households possessed no horses, and similar inquiries in 41 governments elicited the fact that 28 % of the peasant households were without horses, although of the total number of horses in the country 82 % belong to the peasantry. The animal commonly met with is small and possessed of very little strength; the best are those of Poland, the W. governments and the S. steppe country. Both the horses of the Cossacks and the *bityug* race of S. Russia are fine animals, and those of the Kirghiz, though not big, are famous for their endurance. Finland ponies are exported in large numbers. The best bred races of cattle are those of Poland, the W. provinces, Little Russia and the far N. (Kholmogory). Of the 55 million sheep kept in Russia only about 15 millions belong to the fine merino breed, and these are pastured chiefly on the Black Sea steppes. Modern dairy-farming is only just beginning in Russia, but butter is being exported in increasing quantities to W. Europe, including Great Britain. Poultry-farming is being more extensively engaged in, and vast numbers of eggs are exported.

Agriculture stands at a low level in Russia. The landowners are often poor, and suffer from want of capital and lack of enterprise. The peasantry are impoverished, and in many parts live on the verge of starvation for the greater part of the year. While the methods of agriculture have generally shown little, if any, advance, the population is increasing rapidly; and although since the emancipation of the peasants the average annual export of cereals has increased from less than 1½ million tons in 1860 to over 6 million tons in 1900, this result has been attained largely by the repeated cropping to exhaustion of the soil. Thus the cultivators, whether noble or peasant, have not profited much from the change in their economic circumstances brought about by the social emancipation of 1861. Agriculture suffers from the widespread poverty of the agricultural classes, from the taxation which weighs unjustly upon the peasantry, from their lack of education, their technical ignorance and national indolence, and from the absence of those progressive institutions (*e.g.* co-operative buying) by means of which the peasantry of Denmark have so wonderfully improved their position. As illustrating the general impoverishment of the Russian peasantry, it may be stated that the arrears of taxation owed by them have increased enormously since 1882, when they amounted to £2,854,000, until in 1900 the total amount was put at £15,222,000. And, strange to say, the heaviest arrears are due from the fertile black earth region of S. Russia, namely, 80 % of their total indebtedness. Within recent years, however, some efforts have been made both by the Ministry of Agriculture and by the more enlightened of the *zemstvos* to improve the education of the peasantry, but the progress achieved has been small. The methods adopted by the *zemstvos* for improving the condition of agriculture have included the formation of agricultural councils, the appointment of inspectors, and the founding of museums, meteorological stations and depots for the sale of agricultural machinery. Measures are being taken by the *zemstvos* to increase the very low productivity of the forests. These cover a considerable area, as may be seen by the following table for 1904:

Region.	Square Miles.	Percentage of Total Area.
European Russia	706,500	39
Poland	11,500	23
Finland	79,000	55
Caucasia	29,200	16
Total . . .	826,200	39

The distribution of forests is very unequal, the area covered by them in the various governments varying from 70 % of the total area in the Ural governments of Perm and Ufa, and 68 % in Olonets and Archangel, down to 2 % in the S.E. The state is the chief owner of forests (almost exclusive owner in Archangel), and owns no less than 289,226,000 acres in European Russia and Poland (235,000,000 acres of good forests), while private persons own 171,800,000 acres, the peasant communities 67,250,000 and the imperial family 22,400,000 acres.

Sericulture, which was in a flourishing condition in the 'sixties both in Caucasia and in S. Russia, was reduced to a very low ebb, in consequence of the silkworm disease, and was only renewed with any vigour towards the end of the 'eighties. At the beginning of the 20th century it was most developed in Transcaucasia (Kutais, Elisavetpol), and extended

into N. Caucasia. Sericulture is taught in a number of special schools and in a great number of village schools. Attempts are being made to re-establish the silkworm industry in S. Russia and in Poland. Altogether raw silk and silk yarn to an annual value exceeding 1½ millions sterling are exported from Russia.

Notwithstanding the wealth of the country in minerals and metals of all kinds, and the endeavours made by government to encourage mining, including the imposition of protective tariffs even against Finland (in 1885), this and the related industries are still at a low stage of development. The remoteness of the mining from the industrial centres, the want of technical instruction and of capital, and the existence of vexatious regulations, aggravated by the disturbed condition of the country, which hinder credit, confidence and enterprise, are amongst the chief reasons for this. The imports of foreign metals in the rough and of coal are steadily increasing, while the exports, never otherwise than insignificant, show no advance. As a producer of iron Russia nevertheless runs France neck and neck for the fourth place amongst the iron-producing countries of the world, her annual output having increased from 1,004,800 metric tons in 1891 to 2,808,000 in 1901 and to 2,900,000 in 1904. The two principal mining centres of European Russia are the Urals, Ekaterinoslav, Kharkov and the Don Cossacks territory. The Ural industry is the older, and is still conducted on primitive methods, wood being largely used for fuel, and the ore and metals being transported by water down the Kama and other rivers. The minerals chiefly produced in the Urals are iron, coal, gold, platinum, copper, salt and precious stones. The production of pig-iron nearly doubled between 1890 and 1900, increasing from 446,800 tons in the former year to 801,600 in the latter; but since 1900 the output has declined, the total for 1904 (inclusive of Siberia) being 644,000 tons. The amount of iron and steel produced in the Urals is not quite 20 % of the total in all European Russia and Poland. The output of coal in the Urals is, altogether, less than 3 % of the total for all the empire and 4 % of the output of European Russia (exclusive of Poland) alone. The annual increase is but small, 261,300 tons having been the total in 1891, and 517,000 tons the total in 1904. Gold has been mined in the Urals since 1820; but since 1892 the output has fallen off very considerably. Whereas in the latter year the yield amounted to 395,500 oz., in 1900 it was only 291,250 oz. No less than 96 % of the world's supply of platinum comes from the Urals; but the total output only ranges between 10,000 and 16,000 lb annually. The copper industry has greatly declined since the 18th century; whereas then it kept 20 smelting works employed, now one-tenth of that number can hardly be kept going. The output for the year is less than 4000 tons. At one time all Russia was supplied with salt from the Urals, but at the present time the output is extremely small, less than 350 tons annually. Salt has been mined there since the 16th century.

The mining region of S. Russia is much more important. It is of comparatively recent foundation (1860), and is carried on largely with French and Belgian capital, with modern appliances and with modern scientific knowledge. Out of an average of some 2,700,000 tons of pig-iron produced annually in the whole of the Russian empire, 61·5 % is produced in the basin of the Donets, and out of an average of 2,160,500 tons of worked iron and steel 48·7 % are prepared in the same region. The principal consumer of this iron and steel is the government, for its railways, locomotives, wagons, arsenals, artillery, &c. The output of coal in the Russian empire has increased from a total of less than 300,000 tons in 1860 to 3,280,000 in 1880, 15,878,200 in 1900, and 18,620,000 tons in 1904. Of these totals something like 70 % is produced in the S. coal-field. Coal takes, however, an altogether secondary place as a fuel in Russia; wood is much more extensively used, not only for domestic, but also for industrial purposes. It is estimated that for domestic purposes nearly 150,000,000 tons of wood are consumed every year, while the steamships, railways, and factories consume another 20 or 25 million tons. At the same time large quantities of petroleum refuse are used as fuel in the railways of S.E. Russia and Caucasia, and on the steamboats of the Volga system.

CHAPTER VII

INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE

Since the time of Peter the Great, the Russian government has been unceasing in its efforts for the creation and development of home manufactures. Important monopolies in the 18th century, and prohibitive import duties, as well as large money bounties, in the 19th, contributed towards the accumulation of immense private fortunes, but manufactures have on the whole developed but slowly. A great upward movement has, however, been observable since 1863. About that time a thorough reform of the machinery in use was effected whereby the number of hands employed was reduced, but the yearly production doubled or trebled. Manufacturing industry in the modern sense can hardly be said to have existed in Russia before the 19th century, that is to say, industries carried on with capital and machinery in large factories. Industry of this character was first established in Poland in 1820, and it has grown there rapidly, though never so rapidly as during the last few years of the 19th century. The principal centre is Lodz in the government of Piotrkow, the staple industry being cottons. A good many factories have sprung up also in Warsaw and at Sosnowice and Bendzin in the extreme S.W. corner of Poland. Besides cottons the products include woollens and cloth, silks, chemicals, machinery, ironware, beer and flour. At Lodz alone the workmen, in great part Germans and Jews, number between 50,000 and 60,000, and the total output of the factories is estimated at £9,000,000 to £10,500,000 annually. Similar industries, carried on by similar methods, exist at Petrograd, Riga, Narva and Odessa. In S. Russia, more particularly at Ekaterinoslav, a very vigorous metallurgical industry has grown up since 1860 in conjunction with the iron and coal mining.

The peculiar feature of Russian industry is the development out of the domestic petty handicrafts of central Russia of a semi-factory on a large scale. Owing to the forced abstention from agricultural labour in the winter months the peasants of central Russia, more especially those of the governments of Moscow, Vladimir, Yaroslavl, Kostroma, Tver, Smolensk and Ryazañ, have for centuries carried on a variety of domestic handicrafts during the period of compulsory leisure. The usual practice was for the whole of the people in one village to devote themselves to one special occupation. Thus, while one village would produce nothing but felt shoes, another would carve sacred images (*ikons*), and a third spin flax only, a fourth make wooden spoons, a fifth nails, a sixth iron chains, and so on. In the same way certain governments become famous for certain commodities, as Moscow for osier baskets, flower baskets, wicker furniture and lace; Kostroma for lace, wooden utensils, toys, wooden spoons, cups and bowls, bast sacks and mats, bast boots and garden products; Yaroslavl for furniture, brass samovars, saucepans, spurs, rings, &c.; Vladimir for furniture, osier baskets and flower-stands and sickles; Nizhniy-Novgorod for bast mats and sacks, knives, forks and scissors; Tver for lace, nails, sieves, anchors, fish-hooks, locks, coarse clay pottery, saddlery and harness, boots and shoes, and so on. Out of these have grown large factories, employing as many as 10,000 to 12,000 men each; but when harvest comes round, these men leave the factories and repair to their fields, and meantime the factories stand still for two or three months. Nor do the people work on the holidays of the church, the number of days they lose in this way amounting to nearly one-third of the whole year. Hence, although wages are painfully low, the cost of production to the manufacturer is relatively high; and it is still further increased by the cost of the

raw materials, by the heavy rates of transport owing to the distance from the sea, by the dearness of capital and by the scarcity of fuel. As a consequence this central Russian industry, even when supported by very high protective duties, is only able to produce for the home market and the markets of the adjacent territories in Asia which are under Russian political control. Here again cotton is the principal product; and the remarkable growth of the industry is illustrated by the fact that, whereas in 1843 there were only 350,000 spindles at work, fifty years later there were 4,332,000 so employed, and in 1900, 6,554,600. The number of looms increased from 87,190 in 1890 to 154,600 in 1900. Next after cottons come woollens, silk, cloth, chemicals, machinery, paper, furniture, hats, cement, leather, glass and china and other products. From the governments of Vyatka and Vladimir large numbers of bricklayers, carpenters and other handicraftsmen migrate temporarily to the S. governments every year, and similarly plasterers and painters from the government of Moscow.

The growth of Russian industry is set forth in the following table, which compares the number of workers for 1887, 1897 and 1902, of all factories throughout the empire of which the annual production was valued at more than £210 :—

Branch of Industry.	Number of Workers.		
	1887.	1897.	1902.
Textiles	399,178	642,520	708,186
Food products	205,223	255,357	303,213
Animal products	38,876	64,418	..
Wood	30,703	86,273	79,664
Paper	19,491	46,190	78,395
Chemical products	21,134	35,320	60,108
Ceramics	67,346	143,291	150,809
Mining and metals	390,915	544,333	549,000
Metal goods	103,300	214,311	252,215
Various	41,882	66,249	78,183
Total	1,318,048	2,098,262	2,259,773

With regard to Russian industry generally, the extravagant prices which have to be paid for iron and all iron goods, owing to the prohibitive tariffs, combined with the obstacles put in the way of education, hamper the development of all industries. The cotton factories excel chiefly in the production of red and printed cottons. In the flax-mills the tendency is to produce the finest tissues as well as the coarser. The silk-mills employ silk obtained from the Caucasus, Italy and France. The growth of the sugar industry is shown by the fact that in 1888–93 the average annual production of sugar was 444,520 tons, in 1902–3 it was 1,180,293 tons. Since 1894 the government has had a monopoly in retailing spirituous liquors, but not wine or beer; but distilling, a very widespread industry, is left in private hands. Beer is chiefly brewed in Poland and the Baltic provinces. Tanneries exist in nearly every government, but it is especially at Warsaw and Petrograd, and after these at Moscow, that the largest and best modern tanneries and shoe and glove factories are established. The governments of Orel (shoe factories), Kherson, Vyatka, Nizhniy-Novgorod, Perm, Kiev and Kazañ rank next in this respect. Furniture factories are developing greatly, as is the paper industry. Flour-mills play an important part in the general industry of Russia, and there are several tobacco and hemp factories.

Far from being destroyed by the competition of the "modern" factories, domestic industries have well maintained their ground, new branches of petty trade having sprung up in some districts, among them the manufacture of agricultural machinery (thrashing machines in Ryazañ, Vyatka and Perm; ploughs in Smolensk, &c.) deserves notice.

The wealth of Russia consisting mainly of raw produce, the trade of the country turns chiefly on the purchase of this for export, and on the sale of manufactured and imported goods in exchange. This traffic is in the hands of a great number of middlemen,—in the W. Jews, and elsewhere Russians,—to whom the peasants are for the most part in debt, as they purchase in advance on security of subsequent payments in corn, tar, wooden wares, &c. A good deal of the internal trade is carried on by travelling merchants.

The fairs are very numerous. Those of Nizhniy-Novgorod, with a return of 20 millions sterling, of Irbit and Kharkov, of Menzelinsk in Ufa, and Omsk and Ishim in Siberia, have considerable importance both for trade and for home manufactures. Altogether, no fewer than 16,600 fairs are held in Russia, 85 % of them in European Russia. Of these, 30 show returns of goods imported to the value of over £100,000 each, 41 from £50,000 to £100,000, and 437 from £10,000 to £50,000 each.

The external trade of the Russian empire (bullion and the external trade of Finland not included) since the year 1886 is shown in the following table :—

Years (average).	Exports.	Imports.
1886–1891	£72,200,000	£43,250,000
1892–1896	60,360,000	46,100,000
1897–1901	68,500,000	55,180,000
1902–1905	103,448,000	66,533,000

The exports rank in the following order:—cereals (wheat, barley, rye, oats, maize, buckwheat) and flour, 49·2 %; timber and wooden wares, 7·2; petroleum, 5·8; eggs, 5·4; flax, 5; butter, 3; sugar, 2·4; cottons and oilcake, 2 each; oleaginous seeds, &c., 1·5; with hemp, spirits, poultry, game, bristles, hair, furs, leather, manganese ore, wool, caviare, live-stock, gutta-percha, vegetables and fruit, and tobacco. The two best customers of Russia are Germany, which takes 23·3 % of her total exports, and the United Kingdom, which takes 22·9 %. Then follow the Netherlands (9·8 %), France, Italy, Finland,[1] Belgium, Austria-Hungary, Denmark, Turkey and Sweden. The commodities which the United Kingdom principally takes are wheat, wool, barley, eggs, oats and flax. With regard to the imports into Russia—they consist mainly of raw materials and machinery for the manufactures, and of provisions, the principal items being raw cotton, 17 % of the aggregate; machinery and metal goods, 13 %; tea, 5 %; mineral ores, 5 %; gums and resins, 4 %; wool and woollen yarns, 3½ %; textiles, 3 %; fish, 3 %; with leather and hides, chemicals, silks, wine and spirits, colours, fruits, coffee, tobacco and rice. The countries from which Russia buys most extensively are Germany (34 %), the United Kingdom (15½) and the United States (9½). Machinery, coal, iron, woollens, ships, lead and copper are the commodities supplied by the United Kingdom.[1]

The total mercantile marine of Russia does not aggregate 700,000 tons; and it is distributed in the following proportions: 35·4 % in the Caspian Sea, 34·7 % in the Black Sea and Sea of Azov, 24·7 % in the Baltic Sea and 5·2 % in the White Sea. And these proportions represent fairly well the tonnages entering and clearing at the ports of these respective seas. But of the vessels that visit the Russian ports in the way of trade every year only 8·3 % are Russian, the rest being of course foreign. Russian craft play, however, a much more important part on the internal waterways, the traffic on which increases rapidly, *e.g.* whilst in 1894 it amounted to an aggregate of 23,293,400 tons, in 1904 it reached a total of 38,720,240, or an increase of over 66 % in the ten years. During the same period the tonnage of the craft themselves more than doubled, while the crews increased 19½ %, the number of men employed in the latter year being approximately 150,000.

In 1860 Russia possessed less than 1000 m. of railways; by 1885 this had increased to 16,155 m., and by the middle of 1905 there were open for traffic over 40,500 m. of railway, of which 34,150 m. or 84·3 % were in European Russia and nearly 6400 m. (15·7 %) in Asiatic Russia. Between 1895 and 1905 the building of railways proceeded at a rapid rate, the

[1] Russia's foreign trade is growing rapidly. Its total value, as reported from the British Consulate in Petrograd, including the trade of the Caucasus and Finland, both exports and imports (but exclusive of precious metals, for which it has been decided henceforth not to publish any data), amounted in 1911 to £268,405,925 as compared with £246,619,092 in 1910, showing an increase of £21,781,833, or 8·8 %. The exports in 1911 were officially estimated at £160,183,809 as compared with £146,032,505 in 1910, an increase of £14,151,304, or 9·4 %, and imports at £108,222,116 as compared with £100,586,587 in 1910, an increase of £7,635,539, or 7·4 %. Compared with the quinquennial period of 1906–10, the exports in 1911 increased by 33·2 %, the imports by 33·7 %, and duty on imports by 20·1 %. The average excess value of exports over imports for the 5 years ending 1910 was over 39 million sterling. Russia imported German goods in 1911 for a value of £50,459,155, so that Germany now monopolizes nearly 50 % of the Russian import trade. The United Kingdom came next with £16,283,070, or 15 % of the total imports, a small increase over the previous year. There has been a remarkable growth in recent years of imports from the United States. In 1911 Russia imported American goods valued at £10,668,045 as compared with £7,798,937 in 1910 and £6,112,610 in 1909. In 1911 Great Britain took Russian exports for £35,638,862 and Germany for £51,866,561. The principal items of the Russian export trade are grain and grain products, which amounted altogether in 1911 to over 13 million tons, the average for the quinquennial period of 1906–10 having been nearly 10 million tons. The following are the chief Russian exports taken by the United Kingdom in 1911, with their respective values: cereals for £11,169,934; timber for £6,689,312; eggs for £3,242,530; butter for £2,945,185; sugar for £2,843,068; flax for £1,979,788, and game and other food products for £1,068,571. The total values of all these exports to all countries in 1911 were: food stuffs, £104,608,149; timber goods, £14,982,963; eggs, £8,544,656; butter, £7,498,412; sugar, £5,106,772; flax, £6,757,777; poultry and game, £1,532,063.

Chambers of Commerce were introduced into Russia for the first time in the years 1910–11–12, beginning with the establishment of the Russo-British Chamber at Petrograd, and these new Russian institutions already embrace the chief Latin and Slavonic countries.

PETROGRAD.

PETROGRAD, until recently St. Petersburg, founded by Peter the Great in 1703, is the capital of the Russian Empire. The view shows the famous Prospekt Nevskiy.

total length nearly doubling within the ten years, namely, from 22,600 to 40,500 m. The European railways cost on an average £10,465 per mile to construct, and the Asiatic railways £5092 per mile.

A considerable number of new railways, some of great strategic as well as commercial importance, were built during the last twenty years of the 19th century. At the same time the chief lines of railway which had been built by public companies with a state guarantee, and which represented a loss to the empire of £3,171,250 per annum, as well as a growing indebtedness, were bought by the state. On the whole, the state derives profit from its railways, although several of the later lines, while imperative for state purposes, must necessarily yield but a very small revenue, or be worked at a loss. The most important of the new railways is the Siberian, of which the first section, Chelyabinsk to Omsk, was opened in December 1895, and which, except for a short section round Lake Baikal, in 1901 was completed right through to Stryetensk, on the Shilka, the head of navigation on the Shilka and the Amur, 2710 m. from Chelyabinsk and 4076 miles from Moscow, via Samara and Chelyabinsk. The section round the S. end of Lake Baikal was completed in 1905. At the Pacific end of the Siberian railway a line connecting Vladivostok with Khabarovsk (479 m.) at the junction of the Amur and the Usuri, was first of all built, following the valley of the Usuri. But it was soon found that the cost of the section required to complete the railway between Stryetensk and Khabarovsk, along the Shilka (246 m.) and the Amur (1160 m.), would be enormous, while neither the wild mountainous tracts of the lower Shilka and upper Amur, nor the marshy, often inundated region between Khabarovsk and the Little Khingan mountains, could ever be the seat of a numerous population. Consequently a company was formed by the Russian government in 1896 to construct, with the consent of the Chinese government, a railway from Vladivostok across Manchuria to Karymskaya near Chita in Transbaikalia. This runs for 222 m. on Russian territory and for 1080 m. on Manchurian territory, and from Kharbin sends off a branch to Dalny near Port Arthur on the Liao-tung peninsula. The first portion of the Manchurian railway, built by Russian engineers, with Chinese labour, was finished in 1902. At the same time several secondary lines were built in connexion with the Siberian line. Chelyabinsk was linked by a transverse line with the middle Urals railway, which connects Perm, the head of navigation in the Volga basin, with Tyumen, the head of navigation on the Ob and Irtysh, passing through Ekaterinburg and other mining centres of the middle Urals. Tomsk is now connected with the main line by a short side branch. A railway has also been built to connect Perm with Kotlas, near the confluence of the Sukhona with the Yug, at the head of the N. Dvina. This N. portion of the Russian railway system was further completed by the opening in 1906 of a line from Petrograd via Vologda to Vyatka, intersecting the Moscow-Archangel line at Vologda.

Another line of great strategic importance was built across the Transcaspian territory to Ferghana. Starting from Krasnovodsk, it runs S.E. to Merv (560 m.), with a branch line (194 m.) to Kushk, near Herat, then N.E. across the desert to Charjui, on the Amur river, Bokhara and the Russian fort Katta-kurgan, and then to Samarkand, Kokand and Andijan in Ferghana, 710 m. from Merv, with a branch to Tashkent (220 m.). This railway has become important for the export of raw cotton from Central Asia to Russia. In 1905 a second totally independent line was opened from Tashkent down the Syr-darya to Kazalinsk, and thence to Orenburg.

A third line of great importance is the junction line between the Transcaucasian railway—which runs from Batum and Poti to Baku, via Tiflis, with a branch line to Kars—and the railway system of Russia proper. This junction has been effected not across the main Caucasus range, but at its E. extremity, that is, via the Caspian ports of Baku and Petrovsk, which are connected with Vladikavkaz (Beslan junction). The Black Sea port of Novorossiysk, in W. Caucasia, having been connected with the Rostov Vladikavkaz line, has consequently also been brought into touch with the Russian railways. The Volga is reached from central Russia by seven lines of railways, including one to Kazañ, and three main lines radiate from the Volga E. (one to Siberia and two to the Ural river), while the upper Volga (Yaroslavl) is connected with Archangel by a line 523 m. long. A zone tariff was introduced on the Russian railways in 1894, and the cost of long journeys was considerably reduced; a journey of 623 m. can be made third class at a cost of only about 17 shillings, while for less than twice as much 1990 m. can be covered.

Fish form an important article of national food. The numerous fasts of the national church prescribe a fish diet on many days in the year, and the continuous frost of winter is favourable to the transportation of fish for great distances. Along the Murman coast of the Arctic Ocean and in the White Sea, where many millions of herrings are caught annually by some 3000 persons, the yearly produce is estimated at the value of £140,000. In the Baltic Sea, as well as in the lakes of its basin (Ladoga, Onega, Ilmeñ, &c.), the yearly value is estimated at £200,000. Of anchovies alone, 10,000,000 jars are prepared annually, while salted fish is, next after bread, the staple food of large masses of the population. The Black Sea fisheries, in which about 4000 men are engaged, yield fish valued at £300,000 per annum. The value of the fish has much increased owing to the introduction of cold storage; as a result of the employment of this method of packing, fish is now exported in a fresh state from the Black Sea to all parts of S.W. Russia, and even to Moscow. The annual yield of

the Azov Sea fisheries, occupying 15,000 men, is valued at £600,000. In the Volga section of the Caspian Sea fish are caught to the value of about £1,000,000 annually; in the Ural section over 40,000 tons of fish and nearly 1500 tons of caviare are obtained. The total value of the Caspian fisheries is estimated at £3,000,000 per annum. Taking the Lake Aral and Siberian river fisheries into account, it is estimated that altogether the fishing industries yield a revenue to the state of £330,000 annually. In addition from 13,000 to 60,000 seals and about 200 whales are killed annually off the Murman coast. Hunting is an occupation of considerable importance in N. and N.E. Russia, and along the shores of the Arctic Ocean.

The ordinary revenue of the empire is in excess of the ordinary expenditure, but the extraordinary expenditure not only swallows up this surplus, but necessitates the raising of fresh loans every year. On the other hand, there is a good deal to show for this extraordinary expenditure. A considerable number of new railways, including the Siberian, have been built with money obtained from that source. But since 1894 all extraordinary items of expenditure, with the exception of those for the construction of new lines of railway, have been defrayed out of ordinary revenue. The only sources of extraordinary revenue still remaining under that head are the money derived from loans and the perpetual deposits in the Imperial Bank. The ordinary revenue, obtained principally from the sale of spirits (28 %), which is a state monopoly, from state railways (23½ %) and customs (10½ %), steadily rose from a total of £132,750,000 in 1895 to a total of £214,360,000 in 1905. Other noteworthy sources of revenue are trade licences, direct taxes on lands and forests, stamp duties, posts and telegraphs, indirect taxes on tobacco, sugar and other commodities, the crown forests, and land redemption payable annually by the peasants since 1861. At the same time the total ordinary expenditure has increased at a similarly steady rate, namely, from £119,391,000 in 1895 to £202,544,000 in 1905. In 1904, 81½ % of the extraordinary expenditure, namely, £71,550,000, was incurred in consequence of the war with Japan, and to this must be added in 1906 a further expenditure of £42,085,000. The total national debt of Russia nearly trebled between 1852 (£57,038,600) and 1862 (£145,500,000), and again between 1872 (£242,277,000) and 1892 (£526,109,000) it more than doubled, while by 1906 it amounted altogether to £812,040,000. Of the total, 77 % stands at 4 % and 17 at less than 4 %.

CHAPTER VIII

GOVERNMENT

RUSSIA was described in the *Almanach de Gotha* for 1910 as " a constitutional monarchy under an autocratic tsar." This obvious contradiction in terms well illustrates the difficulty of defining in a single formula the system, essentially transitional and meanwhile *sui generis*, established in the Russian empire since October 1905. Before this date the fundamental laws of Russia described the power of the emperor as " autocratic and unlimited." The imperial style is still " Emperor and Autocrat of All the Russias " ; but in the fundamental laws as remodelled between the imperial manifesto of 17/30 October and the opening of the first *Duma* on the 27th of April 1906, while the name and principle of autocracy was jealously preserved, the word " unlimited " vanished. Not that the régime in Russia had become in any true sense constitutional, far less parliamentary ; but the " unlimited autocracy " had given place to a " self-limited autocracy," whether permanently so limited, or only at the discretion of the autocrat, remaining a subject of heated controversy between conflicting parties in the state.[1] Provisionally, then, the Russian governmental system may perhaps be best defined—as M. Chasles suggests—as " a limited monarchy under an autocratic emperor."

At the head of the government is the emperor,[2] whose power is limited only by the provisions of the fundamental laws of the empire. Of these some are ancient and undisputed : the empire may not be partitioned, but descends entire in order of primogeniture, and by preference to the male heir ; the emperor and his consort must belong to the Eastern Orthodox Church ; the emperor can wear no crown that entails residence abroad. By the manifesto of the 17/30th of October 1905 the emperor voluntarily limited his legislative power by decreeing that no measure was to become law without the consent of the Imperial Duma, a freely elected national assembly. By the law of the 20th of February 1906 the Council of the Empire was associated with the Duma as a legislative Upper House ; and from this time the legislative power has been exercised normally by the emperor only in concert with the two chambers.

The Council of the Empire, or Imperial Council (*Gosudarstvenniy Sovyet*), as reconstituted for this purpose, consists of 196 members, of whom 98 are nominated by the emperor, while 98 are elective. The ministers, also nominated, are *ex officio* members. Of the elected members 3 are returned by the " black " clergy (the monks), 3 by the " white " clergy (seculars),[3] 18 by the corporations of nobles, 6 by the academy of sciences and the universities, 6 by the chambers of commerce, 6 by the industrial councils, 34 by the governments having *zemstvos*, 16 by those having no *zemstvos*, and 6

[1] M. Stolypin defended the *ukaz* of the 2nd of June 1907, which in flat contradiction of the provisions of the fundamental laws altered the electoral law without the consent of the legislature, on the ground that what the autocrat had granted the autocrat could take away. The members of the Opposition, on the other hand, quoting Art. 84 of the fundamental laws (" The empire is governed on the immutable basis of laws issued according to the established order "), argued that the emperor himself could only act within the limits of the order established by those laws. It is noteworthy that even the third Duma in its address to the throne, if it avoided the tabooed word " Constitution," avoided also all mention of autocracy.

[2] *Imperator* is the official style. The Russian translation is *Gosudar*. Popularly, however, the emperor is known by his old Russian title of *tsar*.

[3] This is the first time since Peter the Great that the clergy have been given a voice in secular affairs in Russia.

by Poland. As a legislative body the powers of the Council are co-ordinate with those of the Duma; in practice, however, it has seldom if ever initiated legislation.[1]

The Duma of the Empire or Imperial Duma (*Gosudarstvennaya Duma*), which forms the Lower House of the Russian parliament, consists (since the *ukaz* of the 2nd of June 1907) of 442 members, elected by an exceedingly complicated process, so manipulated as to secure an overwhelming preponderance for the wealthy, and especially the landed classes, and also for the representatives of the Russian as opposed to the subject peoples. Each province of the empire, except the now disfranchised steppes of Central Asia,[2] returns a certain proportion of members (fixed in each case by law in such a way as to give a preponderance to the Russian element) in addition to those returned by certain of the great cities. The members of the Duma are elected by electoral colleges in each government, and these in their turn are elected, like the *zemstvos*, by electoral assemblies chosen by the three classes of landed proprietors, citizens and peasants. In these assemblies the large proprietors sit in person, being thus electors in the second degree; the lesser proprietors are represented by delegates, and therefore elect in the third degree. The urban population, divided into two categories according to their taxable wealth, elects delegates direct to the college of the government (*Guberniya*), and is thus represented in the second degree; but the system of division into categories, according not to the number of taxpayers but to the amount they pay, gives a great preponderance to the richer classes. The peasants are represented only in the fourth degree, since the delegates to the electoral college are elected by the *volosts*. The workmen, finally, are specially treated. Every industrial concern employing fifty hands or over elects one or more delegates to the electoral college of the government, in which, like the others, they form a separate *curia*.

In the college itself the voting—secret and by ballot throughout—is by majority; and since this majority consists, under the actual system, of very conservative elements (the landowners and urban delegates having $\frac{5}{8}$ths of the votes), the progressive elements—however much they might preponderate in the country—would have no chance of representation at all save for the curious provision that one member at least in each government must be chosen from each of the five classes represented in the college. For example, were there no reactionary peasant among the delegates, a reactionary majority might be forced to return a Social Democrat to the Duma. As it is, though a fixed *minimum* of peasant delegates *must* be returned, they by no means probably represent the opinion of the peasantry. That in the Duma any Radical elements survive at all is mainly due to the peculiar franchise enjoyed by the seven largest towns—Petrograd, Moscow, Kiev, Odessa, Riga and the Polish cities of Warsaw and Lodz. These elect their delegates to the Duma direct, and though their votes are divided into two *curias* (on the basis of taxable property) in such a way as to give the advantage to wealth, each returning the same number of delegates, the democratic colleges can at least return members of their own complexion.[3]

The competence of the Russian parliament[4] thus constituted is strictly limited. It shares with the emperor the legislative power, including the discussion and sanctioning of the budget. But, so far as the parliament is concerned, this power is subject to numerous and important exceptions. All measures, *e.g.* dealing with the organization of the army and navy, are outside its competence; these are no longer called "laws" but "ordinary administrative rules." Moreover, the procedure of the Houses practically places the control of legislation in the hands of ministers. Any member may bring in a "project of law," but it has to be submitted to the minister of the department concerned, who is allowed a month to consider it, and himself prepares the final draft laid on the table of the House. Amendments, however, may be and have been carried against the government. Ministers are responsible, moreover, not to parliament but to the emperor. They may be interpellated, but only on the legality, not the policy, of their acts. In the words of M. Stolypin, there is no intention of converting the ministerial bench into a prisoners' dock. If by a two-thirds majority the action of a minister be arraigned, the president of the Imperial Council lays the case before the emperor, who decides. The powers of the parliament over the budget are even more limited, though not altogether illusory. No legislation by means of the budget is allowed, *i.e.* no alteration may be made in credits necessary for carrying out a law. This deprives parliament of control over the administrative departments, all the ministries being thus "armour-plated"—to use the cant phrase current in Russia—except that of ways and communications (railways). The sum of 700,000,000 roubles per annum is thus

[1] The number of the council was formerly not fixed, and there are still honorary councillors who have no right to sit. Thus in 1910 the honorary president of the council was the grand-duke Michael Nicolaievich, the actual president M. G. Akimov. The judicial and administrative work of the old council was in 1906 assigned to separate committees.

[2] These returned 23 members in the first and second Dumas.

[3] Thus M. Guchkov, leader of the Octobrists, and M. Miliukov, leader of the cadets, were both returned by the second *curia* of Petrograd to the third Duma.

[4] Strictly speaking, the title is inapplicable, there being no collective official name for the two chambers. The word parliament may, however, be used as a convenient term, failing a better.

excepted from the control of the chambers. Other exceptions are the " Institutions of the Empress Marie," which absorb, *inter alia*, the duties on playing-cards and the taxes on places of public entertainment; the imperial civil list, so far as this does not exceed the sum fixed in 1906 (16,359,595 roubles!); the expenses of the two imperial chanceries, 10,000,000 roubles per annum, which constitute in effect a secret service fund. Altogether half the annual expenditure of the country is outside the control of parliament. Nor is this all. If the budget be not sanctioned by the emperor, that of the previous year remains in force, and the government has power, *motu proprio*, to impose the extra taxes necessary to carry out new laws. In certain circumstances, too, the emperor reserves the right to raise fresh loans.

Further, the emperor has the power to issue ordinances having the force of law, *i.e.* under extraordinary circumstances when the Duma is not sitting. These ordinances must, however, be of a temporary nature, must not infringe the fundamental laws or statutes passed by the two chambers, or change the electoral system, and must be laid upon the table of the Duma at the first opportunity. Since, however, the emperor has the power of proroguing or dissolving the Duma as often as he pleases, it is clear that these temporary ordinances might in effect be made permanent. Finally, the emperor has the right to proclaim anywhere and at any time a state of siege. In this way the fundamental laws were suspended not only in Poland but in Petrograd and other parts of the empire during the greater part of the four years succeeding the grant of the constitution.

It should be noted, none the less, that the third Duma succeeded in establishing its position, and that in view of its useful activities even the extreme Right came to realize that there could be no return to the old undisguised absolutist régime.

By the law of the 18th of October (November 1) 1905, to assist the emperor in the supreme administration a Council of Ministers (*Sovyet Ministrov*) was created, under a minister president, the first appearance of a prime minister in Russia. This council consists of all the ministers and of the heads of the principal administrations. The ministries are as follows: (1) of the Imperial Court, to which the administration of the apanages, the chapter of the imperial orders, the imperial palaces and theatres and the Academy of Fine Arts are subordinated; (2) Foreign Affairs; (3) War and Marine; (4) Finance; (5) Commerce and Industry (created in 1905); (6) Interior (including police, health, censorship, and press, posts and telegraphs, foreign religions, statistics); (7) Agriculture; (8) Ways and Communications; (9) Justice; (10) Public Instruction. Dependent on the Council of Ministers are two other councils: the Holy Synod and the Senate.

The Holy Synod (established in 1721) is the supreme organ of government of the Orthodox Church in Russia. It is presided over by a lay procurator, representing the emperor, and consists, for the rest, of the three metropolitans of Moscow, Petrograd and Kiev, the archbishop of Georgia, and a number of bishops sitting in rotation.

The Senate (*Pravitelstvuyushchi Senat, i.e.* directing or governing senate), originally established by Peter the Great, consists of members nominated by the emperor. Its functions, which are exceedingly various, are carried out by the different departments into which it is divided. It is the supreme court of cassation (see *Judicial System*, p. 40); an audit office, a high court of justice for all political offences; one of its departments fulfils the functions of a heralds' college. It has also supreme jurisdiction in all disputes arising out of the administration of the empire, notably differences between the representatives of the central power and the elected organs of local self-government. Lastly, it examines into registers and promulgates new laws, a function which, in theory, gives it a power, akin to that of the Supreme Court of the United States, of rejecting measures not in accordance with the fundamental laws.

For purposes of provincial administration Russia is divided into 78 governments (*guberniya*), 18 provinces (*oblast*) and 1 district (*okrug*). Of these 11 governments, 17 provinces and 1 district (Sakhalin) belong to Asiatic Russia. Of the rest 8 governments are in Finland, 10 in Poland. European Russia thus embraces 59 governments and 1 province (that of the Don). The Don province is under the direct jurisdiction of the ministry of war; the rest have each a governor and deputy-governor, the latter presiding over the administrative council. In addition there are governors-general, generally placed over several governments and armed with more extensive powers, usually including the command of the troops within the limits of their jurisdiction. In 1906 there were governors-general in Finland, Warsaw, Vilna, Kiev, Moscow and Riga. The larger cities (Petrograd, Moscow, Odessa, Sevastopol, Kertch-Yenikala, Nikolayev, Rostov) have an administrative system of their own, independent of the governments; in these the chief of police acts as governor. As organs of the central government there are further, the *ispravniki*, chiefs of police in the districts into which the governments are divided. These are nominated by the governors,[1] and have under their orders in the principal localities commissaries (*stanovoï pristav*). *Ispravniki* and *stanovoï* alike are armed with large and ill-defined powers; and, since they are for the most part illiterate and wholly ignorant of the law, they have proved exasperating engines of oppression. Towards the end of the reign of Alexander II., the government, in

[1] From Catherine II.'s time to that of Alexander II. they were elected by the nobles. This was changed in consequence of the emancipation of the serfs.

order to preserve order in the country districts, also created a special class of mounted rural policemen (*uryadniki*, from *uriad*, order), who, armed with power to arrest all suspects on the spot, rapidly became the terror of the countryside.[1] Finally, in the towns every house is provided with a detective policeman in the person of the porter (*dvornik*), who is charged with the duty of reporting to the police the presence of any suspicious characters or anything else that may interest them.[2]

In addition to the above there is also a police organization, in direct subordination to the ministry of the interior, of which the principal function is the discovery, prevention and extirpation of political sedition. A secret police, armed with inquisitorial and arbitrary powers, has always existed in autocratic Russia. Its most famous development was the so-called "Third Section" of the imperial chancery) instituted by the emperor Nicholas I. in 1826. This was entirely independent of the ordinary police, but was associated with the previously existing corps of gendarmes (*Korpus Zhandarmov*), whose chief was placed at its head. Its object had originally been to keep the emperor in close touch with all the branches of the administration and to bring to his notice any abuses and irregularities, and for this purpose its chief was in constant personal intercourse with the sovereign. Actually, however, its activity, directed mainly to the discovery of political offences, degenerated into a hideous reign of terror. Its organization was spread all over Russia; its procedure was secret and summary (transportation by administrative order); and, its instruments being for the most part ignorant and largely corrupt, its victims were counted by thousands.

The "Third Section" was suppressed by Alexander II. in 1880, but only in name. In fact it was transformed into a separate department of the ministry of the interior, and, provided with an enormous secret service fund, soon dominated the whole ministry. The corps of gendarmes was also incorporated in this department, the under-secretary of the interior being placed at its head and at that of the police generally, with practically unlimited jurisdiction in all cases which, in the judgment of the minister of the interior, required to be dealt with by processes outside the ordinary law. In 1896 the powers of the minister were extended at the expense of those of the under-secretary, who remained only at the head of the corps of gendarmes; but by a law of the 24th of September 1904 this was again reversed, and the under-secretary was again placed at the head of all the police with the title of under-secretary for the administration of the police.

Local Elected Administrative Bodies.—Alongside the local organs of the central government in Russia there are three classes of local elected bodies charged with administrative functions: (1) the peasant assemblies in the *mir* and the *volost*, (2) the *zemstvos* in the 34 governments of Russia proper, (3) the municipal *dumas*. Of these the peasant assemblies are the most interesting and in some respects the most important, since the peasants (*i.e.* three-quarters of the population of Russia) form a class apart,[3] largely excepted from the incidence of the ordinary law, and governed in accordance with their local customs. The *mir* itself, with its customs, is of immemorial antiquity; it was not, however, till the emancipation of the serfs in 1861 that the village community was withdrawn from the patrimonial jurisdiction of the landowning nobility and endowed with self-government. The assembly of the *mir* consists of all the peasant householders of the village.[4] These elect a head-man (*starosta*) and a collector of taxes, who was responsible, at least until the *ukaz* of October 1906, which abolished communal responsibility for the payment of taxes, for the repartition among the individuals of the taxes imposed on the commune. A number of *mirs* are united into a *volost*, or canton, which has an assembly consisting of elected delegates from the *mirs*. These elect an elder (*starshina*) and, hitherto, a court of justice (*volostnye sud*). See *Judicial System*, p. 40. The self-government of the *mirs* and *volosts* is, however, tempered by the authority of the police commissaries (*stanovoi*) and by the power of general oversight given to the nominated "district committees for the affairs of the peasants."

The system of local self-government is continued, so far as the 34 governments of old Russia are concerned,[5] in the elective district and provincial assemblies (*zemstvos*). These bodies, one for each district and another for each province or government, were created by Alexander II. in 1864. They consist of a representative council (*zemskoye sobranye*) and of

[1] They were soon nicknamed *Kuryadniki*, chicken-stealers (from *Kura*, hen). See Leroy-Beaulieu, *L'Empire des tsars*, ii. 134.

[2] The *dvornik* is on duty for sixteen hours at a stretch, during which he is not allowed to sleep or even to shelter in the porch.

[3] Until the *ukaz* of October 18, 1906, the peasant class was stereotyped under the electoral law. No peasant, however rich, could qualify for a vote in any but the peasants' electoral colleges. The *ukaz* allowed peasants with the requisite qualifications to vote as landowners. At the same time the Senate interpreted the law so as to exclude all but heads of families actually engaged in farming from the vote for the Duma.

[4] None but peasants—not even the noble-landowner—has a voice in the assembly of the *mir*.

[5] Sixteen provinces have no *zemstvos*, *i.e.* the three Baltic provinces, the nine western governments annexed from Poland by Catherine II., and the Cossack provinces of the Don, Astrakhan, Orenburg and Stavropol.

an executive board (*zemskaya uprava*) nominated by the former. The board consists of five classes of members: (1) large landed proprietors (nobles owning 590 acres and over), who sit in person; (2) delegates of the small landowners, including the clergy in their capacity of landed proprietors; (3) delegates of the wealthier townsmen; (4) delegates of the less wealthy urban classes; (5) delegates of the peasants, elected by the *volosts*.[1] The rules governing elections to the *zemstvos* were taken as a model for the electoral law of 1906 and are sufficiently indicated by the account of this given above. The *zemstvos* were originally given large powers in relation to the incidence of taxation, and such questions as education, public health, roads and the like. These powers were, however, severely restricted by the emperor Alexander III. (law of 12-25 June 1890), the *zemstvos* being absolutely subordinated to the governors, whose consent was necessary to the validity of all their decisions, and who received drastic powers of discipline over the members.[2] It was not till 1905 that the *zemstvos* regained, at least *de facto*, some of their independent initiative. The part played by the congress of *zemstvos* in the earlier stages of the Russian revolution is outlined below.

[1] By the law of the 12th (25th) of June 1890 the peasant members of the *zemstvos* were to be nominated by the governor of the government or province from a list elected by the *volosts*.

[2] In spite of these restrictions and of an electoral system which tended to make these assemblies as strait-laced and reactionary as any government bureau, the *zemstvos* did good work, notably educational, in those provinces where the proprietors were inspired with a more liberal spirit. Many *zemstvos* also made extensive and valuable inquiries into the condition of agriculture, industry and the like.

CHAPTER IX

JUDICIAL AND MILITARY SYSTEM

Since 1870 the municipalities in European Russia have had institutions like those of the *zemstvos*. All owners of houses, and tax-paying merchants, artisans and workmen are enrolled on lists in a descending order according to their assessed wealth. The total valuation is then divided into three equal parts, representing three groups of electors very unequal in number, each of which elects an equal number of delegates to the municipal *duma*. The executive is in the hands of an elective mayor and an *uprava*, which consists of several members elected by the *duma*. Under Alexander III., however, by laws promulgated in 1892 and 1894, the municipal *dumas* were subordinated to the governors in the same way as the *zemstvos*. In 1894 municipal institutions, with still more restricted powers, were granted to several towns in Siberia, and in 1895 to some in Caucasia.

In the Baltic provinces (Courland, Livonia and Esthonia) the landowning classes formerly enjoyed considerable powers of self-government and numerous privileges in matters affecting education, police and the administration of local justice. But by laws promulgated in 1888 and 1889 the rights of police and manorial justice were transferred from the landlords to officials of the central government. Since about the same time a process of rigorous Russification has been carried through in the same provinces, in all departments of administration, in the higher schools and in the university of Dorpat, the name of which was altered to Yuriev. In 1893 district committees for the management of the peasants' affairs, similar to those in the purely Russian governments, were introduced into this part of the empire.

Judicial System.—Not the least valuable of the gifts of the "tsar emancipator," Alexander II., to Russia was the judicial system established by the statute (*Sudebni Ustav*) of the 20th of November 1864. The system which this superseded was not indigenous to Russia, but had been set up by Peter the Great, who had taken as his model the inquisitorial procedure at that time in vogue on the continent of western Europe. Both civil and criminal procedure were secret. All the proceedings were conducted in writing, and the judges were not confronted with either the parties or the witnesses until they emerged to deliver judgment. This secrecy, combined with the fact that the judges were very ill paid, led to universal bribery and corruption. To check this courts were multiplied (there were five, six or more instances), which only multiplied the evil. Documents accumulated from court to court, till none but the clerks who had written them could tell their gist; costs were piled up; and all this, combined with the confusion caused by the chaotic mass of imperial ukazes, ordinances and ancient laws—often inconsistent or flatly contradictory—made the administration of justice, if possible, more dilatory and capricious than in the old, unreformed English court of chancery. Above all, there was no dividing line between the judiciary and the administrative functions. The judges were not so by profession; they were merely members of the official class (*chinovniks*), the prejudices and vices of which they shared.

Of this system—except so far as the confusion of the laws is concerned—the reform of 1864 made a clean sweep. The new system established—based partly on English, partly on French models—was built up on certain broad principles: the separation of the judicial and administrative functions, the independence of the judges and courts, the publicity of trials and oral procedure, the equality of all classes

before the law. Moreover, a democratic element was introduced by the adoption of the jury system and—so far as one order of tribunal was concerned—the election of judges. The establishment of a judicial system on these principles constituted, as M. Leroy-Beaulieu justly observes, a fundamental change in the conception of the Russian state, which, by placing the administration of justice outside the sphere of the executive power, ceased to be a despotism. This fact made the new system especially obnoxious to the bureaucracy, and during the latter years of Alexander II. and the reign of Alexander III. there was a piecemeal taking back of what had been given. It was reserved for the third Duma, after the revolution, to begin the reversal of this process.[1]

The system established by the law of 1864 is remarkable in that it set up two wholly separate orders of tribunals, each having their own courts of appeal and coming in contact only in the senate, as the supreme court of cassation. The first of these, based on the English model, are the courts of the elected justices of the peace, with jurisdiction over petty causes, whether civil or criminal; the second, based on the French model, are the ordinary tribunals of nominated judges, sitting with or without a jury to hear important cases.

The justices of the peace, who must be landowners [2] or (in towns) persons of moderate property, are elected by the municipal *dumas* in the towns, and by the *zemstvos* in the country districts, for a term of three years. They are of two classes: (1) acting justices (*uchastokvye mirovye sudi*); (2) honorary justices (*pochetnye mirovye sudi*). The acting justice sits normally alone to hear causes in his canton of the peace (*uchastok*), but, at the request of both parties to a suit, he may call in an honorary justice as assessor or substitute.[3] In all civil cases involving less than 30 roubles, and in criminal cases punishable by no more than three days' arrest, his judgment is final. In other cases appeal can be made to the "assize of the peace" (*mirovye syezd*), consisting of three or more justices of the peace meeting monthly (cf. the English quarter-sessions), which acts both as a court of appeal and of cassation. From this again appeal can be made on points of law or disputed procedure to the senate, which may send the case back for retrial by an assize of the peace in another district.

The ordinary tribunals, in their organization, personnel and procedure, are modelled very closely on those of France. From the town judge (*ispravnik*), who, in spite of the principle laid down in 1864, combines judicial and administrative functions, an appeal lies (as in the case of the justices of the peace) to an assembly of such judges; from these again there is an appeal to the district court (*okrugniya sud*), consisting of three judges;[4] from this to the court of appeal (*sudebniya palata*); while over this again is the senate, which, as the supreme court of cassation, can send a case for retrial for reason shown. The district court, sitting with a jury, can try criminal cases without appeal, but only by special leave in each case of the court of appeal. The senate, as supreme court of cassation, has two departments, one for civil and one for criminal cases. As a court of justice its main drawback is that it is wholly unable to cope with the vast mass of documents representing appeals from all parts of the empire.

Two important classes in Russia stood more or less outside the competence of the above systems: the clergy and the peasants. The ecclesiastical courts still retain a jurisdiction over the clergy which they have lost elsewhere in Europe; and in them the old secret written procedure survives. Their interest for the laity lies mainly in the fact that marriage and divorce fall within their competence; and their reform has been postponed largely because the wealthy and corrupt society of the Russian capital preferred a system which makes divorce easily purchasable and avoids at the same time the scandal of publicity. The case of the peasants is more interesting, and deserves a somewhat more detailed notice.

The peasants, as already stated, form a class apart, untouched by the influence of Western civilization, the principles of which they are quite incapable of understanding or appreciating. This fact was recognized by the legislators of 1864, and beneath the statutory tribunals created in that year the special courts of the peasants were suffered to survive. These were indeed but a few years older. Up to 1861, the date of the emancipation, the peasant serfs had been under the patrimonial jurisdiction of their lords. The edict of emancipation abolished this jurisdiction, and set up instead in each *volost* a court particular to the peasants (*volostnye sud*), of which the judges and jury, themselves peasants, were

[1] An *ukaz* of 1879 gave the governors the right to report secretly on the qualifications of candidates for the office of justice of the peace. In 1889 Alexander III. abolished the election of justices of the peace, except in certain large towns and some outlying parts of the empire, and greatly restricted the right of trial by jury. The confusion of the judicial and administrative functions was introduced again by the appointment of officials as judges. In 1909 the third Duma restored the election of justices of the peace.

[2] The justices, though noble-landowners, are almost exclusively of very moderate means, and, though elected by the land-owning class, they are—according to M. Leroy-Beaulieu—prejudiced in favour of the poor *mujik* rather than of the wealthy landlord.

[3] These honorary justices are mainly recruited from the ranks of the higher bureaucracy and the army.

[4] This corresponds to the French *cour d'arrondissement*, but its jurisdiction is, territorially, much wider, often covering several districts or even a whole government.

elected by the assembly of the *volost* (*volostnye skhod*) each year. In these courts the ordinary written law had little to say; the decisions of the *volost* courts were based on the local customary law, which the peasants, and the peasants alone, understand. The justice administered in them was patriarchal and rough, but not ineffective. All civil cases involving less than 100 roubles value were within their competence, and more important cases by consent of the parties. They acted also as police courts in the case of petty thefts, breaches of the peace and the like. They were also charged with the maintenance of order in the *mir* and the family, punishing infractions of the religious law, husbands who beat their wives, and parents who ill-treated their children. The penalty of flogging, preferred by the peasants to fine or imprisonment, was not unknown. The judges were, of course, wholly illiterate, and this tended to throw the ultimate power into the hands of the clerk (*pisar*) of the court, who was rarely above corruption.

In 1880, according to the observations of M. Leroy-Beaulieu, the fines inflicted by the court were commonly paid in *vodka*, which was consumed on the premises by the judges and the parties to the suit; there is no reason to suppose that this amiable custom has been abandoned.

The peasants are not compelled to go to the *volost* court. They can apply to the police commissaries (*stanovoi*) or to the justices of the peace; but the great distances to be traversed in a country so sparsely populated makes this course highly inconvenient.[1] On the other hand, from the *volost* court there is no appeal, unless it has acted *ultra vires* or illegally. In the latter case a court of cassation is provided in the district committee for the affairs of the peasants (*Uyezdnoe po krestianskim dolam prisutstviye*), which has superseded the assembly of arbiters of the peace (*mirovye posredniki*) established in 1866.[2]

The system of obligatory military service for all, introduced in 1874, has been maintained, but the six years' term of service has been reduced to five, while the privileges granted to young men who have received various degrees of education have been slightly extended. During the reign of Alexander III. efforts were mainly directed towards—(1) reducing the time required for the mobilization of the army; (2) increasing the immediate readiness of cavalry for war and its fitness for serving as mounted infantry (dragoon regiments taking the place of hussars and lancers); (3) strengthening the W. frontier by fortresses and railways; and (4) increasing the artillery, siege and train reserves. Further, the age releasing from service was raised from 40 to 43 years and the militia (*landsturm*) was reorganized. The measures taken during the reign of Nicholas II. have been chiefly directed towards increasing the fighting capacity and readiness for immediate service of the troops in Asia, and towards the better reorganization of the local irregular militia forces. Broadly speaking, the army is divided into regulars, Cossacks and militia. The peace strength of the army is estimated at 42,000 officers and 1,100,000 men (about 950,000 combatants), while the war strength is approximately 75,000 officers and 4,500,000 men. However, this latter figure is merely nominal, the available artillery and train service being much below the strength which would be required for such an army; estimates which put the military forces of Russia in time of war at 2,750,000—irrespective of the armies which may be levied during the war itself—seem to approach more nearly the strength of the forces which could actually be mustered. The infantry and rifles are armed with small-bore magazine rifles, and the active artillery have steel breech-loaders with extreme ranges of 4150 to 4700 yds.

Before the Japanese war Russia maintained four separate squadrons: the Baltic, the Black Sea, the Pacific and the Caspian. But in the operations before Port Arthur and in the disastrous battle of Tsushima the Russian fleets were almost completely annihilated. The bulk of the Black Sea fleet and a few other battleships were, however, still left, and since 1904 steps have been taken to build new ships, both battleships and powerful cruisers. Kronstadt is the naval headquarters in the Baltic, Sevastopol in the Black Sea and Vladivostok on the Pacific.

Fortresses.—The chief first-class fortresses of Russia are Warsaw and Novogeorgievsk in Poland, and Brest-Litovsk and Kovno in Lithuania. The second-class fortresses are Kronstadt and Sveaborg in the Gulf of Finland, Ivangorod in Poland, Libau on the Baltic Sea, Kerch on the Black Sea and Vladivostok on the Pacific. In the third class are Viborg in Finland, Ossovets and Ust Dvinsk (or Dünamünde) in Lithuania, Sevastopol and Ochakov on the Black Sea, and Kars and Batum in Caucasia. There are, moreover, 46 forts and fortresses unclassed, of which 6 are in Poland, 8 in W. and S.W. Russia, and the remainder (mere fortified posts) in the Asiatic dominions.

[1] In the ordinary tribunals weight is given to the "customs" of the peasants, even when these conflict with the written law.

[2] The abolition of the special courts of the peasants was announced in the same imperial *ukaz* (18th of October 1906) which promised the relief of the peasants from the arbitrary control of the communes, and permission for them to migrate elsewhere without losing their communal rights. This was made part of the general reform of Russian local government, which in the autumn of 1910 was still under the consideration of the Duma.

CHAPTER X

EARLY HISTORY

THE first period of the history of Russia, like the early history of many other countries, begins with a legend. Nestor, an old monkish chronicler of Kiev, relates that in the middle of the 9th century the Slav and Finnish tribes inhabiting the forest region around Lake Ilmen, between Lake Ladoga and the upper waters of the Dnieper, paid tribute to military adventurers from the land of Rūs, which is commonly supposed to have been a part of Sweden. In the year 859 these tribes expelled the Northmen, but finding that they quarrelled among themselves, they invited them, three years later, to return. Our land, said the deputation sent to Rūs for this purpose, is great and fertile, but there is no order in it; come and reign and rule over us. Three brothers, princes of Rūs, called respectively Rurik, Sineus and Truvor, accepted the invitation and founded a dynasty, from which many of the Russian princes of the present day claim descent.

Who were those warlike men of Rūs who are universally recognized as the founders of the Russian Empire? This question has given rise to an enormous amount of discussion among learned men, and some of the disputants have not yet laid down their arms; but for impartial outsiders who have carefully studied the evidence there can be little doubt that the men of Rūs, or Variags, as they were sometimes called, were simply the hardy Norsemen or Normans who at that time, in various countries of Europe, appeared first as armed marauders and then lived in the invaded territory as a dominant military caste until they were gradually absorbed by the native population. Lake Ilmen and the river Volkhov, on which stands Novgorod, Rurik's capital, formed part of the great waterway from the Baltic to the Black Sea, and we know that by this route travelled from Scandinavia to Constantinople the tall fair-haired Northmen who composed the famous Varangian bodyguard of the Byzantine emperors.

The new rulers did not long confine their attention to the tribes who had invited them. They at once began to conquer the surrounding country in all directions, and before two centuries had passed they had established themselves firmly at Kiev on the Dnieper, invaded Byzantine territory, threatened Constantinople with a fleet of small craft, obtained as consort for one of their princes, Vladimir I., a sister of the Byzantine emperor on condition of the prince becoming a Christian, adopted Christianity for themselves and their subjects, learned to hold in check the nomadic hordes of the steppe, and formed matrimonial alliances with the reigning families of Poland, Hungary, Norway and France. In short, they became a considerable power in eastern Europe, and might be regarded as one of the claimants for the inheritance of the decrepit East Roman Empire. Unfortunately for the political future of this new state, its internal consolidation did not keep pace with its territorial expansion. In theory the whole Russian land was a gigantic family estate belonging to the Rurik dynasty, and each member of that great family considered himself entitled to a share of it. It had to be divided, therefore, into a number of independent principalities, but it continued to be loosely held together by the dynastic sentiment of the descendants of Rurik and by the patriarchal authority—a sort of *patria potestas*—of the senior member of the family, called the grand-prince, who ruled in Kiev, "the mother of Russian cities." His administrative authority was confined to his own principality, but when territorial disputes arose between two or more of his relations, his paternal influence was exercised in the interests of peace and justice. What added to the practical difficulties of this

arrangement was that the post of grand-prince was not an hereditary dignity in the sense of descending from father to son, but was always to be held by the senior member of the dynasty; and in the subordinate principalities the same principle of succession was applied, so that reigning princes had to be frequently shifted about from one district to another, according as they could establish the strongest claim to vacant principalities. What constituted in this primitive system of inheritance the strength of a claim was often not easily determined, and even when the legal question was clear enough the law was not always respected by the contending parties. Hence family quarrels became very frequent. These princes were, in fact, men of like passions with ourselves, and acted as powerful men generally do in a rude state of society. Instead of conforming to abstract principles of public law and hereditary succession, they strove to enlarge their territories at the expense of their rivals, and to leave them at their death to their sons rather than to their brothers, nephews and more distant relations. In these circumstances, the traditional authority of the grand-prince, never very great, rapidly declined, and the complicated law of succession, never scrupulously respected, was gradually replaced by "the good old rule, the simple plan, that he should take who has the power, and he should keep who can." Yaroslav, surnamed the Great, a man of commanding personality, was the last grand-prince who upheld vigorously the old system. After his death in 1054 the process of disintegration went on apace and the family feuds multiplied at an alarming rate. During the next 170 years (1054–1224) no less than 64 principalities had a more or less ephemeral existence, 293 princes put forward succession-claims, and their disputes led to 83 civil wars.

During these interminable struggles of rival princes, Kiev, which had been so long the residence of the grand-prince and of the metropolitan, was repeatedly taken by storm and ruthlessly pillaged, and finally the whole valley of the Dnieper fell a prey to the marauding tribes of the steppe. Thereupon Russian colonization and political influence retreated northwards, and from that time the continuous stream of Russian history is to be sought in the land where the Vikings first settled and in the adjoining basin of the upper Volga. Here new principalities were founded and new agglomerations of principalities came into existence, some of them having a grand-prince who no longer professed allegiance to Kiev. Thus appeared the grand-prince of Suzdal or Vladimir, of Tver, of Ryazan and of Moscow —all irreconcilable rivals with little or no feeling of blood-relationship. The more ambitious and powerful among them aspired not to succeed but to subdue the others and to take possession of their territory, and the armed retainers, who were wont formerly to wander about as free lances, gave up their roving mode of life, settled down permanently in one principality, became landed proprietors, and sought to share as boyars the princes' authority.

Among the principalities of that northern region the first place was long held by Novgorod. Since the days when Rurik had first chosen it as his headquarters, the little town on the Volkhov had grown into a great commercial city and a member of the Hanseatic league, and it had brought under subjection a vast expanse of territory, stretching from the shores of the Baltic to the Ural Mountains, and containing several subordinate towns, of which the principal were Pskov, Nizhniy-Novgorod and Vyatka. Unlike the ordinary Russian principalities, it had a republican rather than a monarchical form of government. Indeed, it was not so much a principality as a municipal republic of the Venetian type. It always had a prince, no doubt, but he was engaged by formal contract without much attention being paid to hereditary rights, and he was merely leader of the troops, while all the political power remained in the hands of the civil officials and the *Vetche*, a popular assembly which was called together in the market-place, as occasion required, by the tolling of the great bell. Descendants of Rurik, impregnated with the pride of a dominant military caste, did not much like serving those truculent, wilful burghers, and some of them, after a time, voluntarily laid down their office and retired to more congenial surroundings. Those of them who tried to have their own way and came into conflict with the authorities had always to yield in the long run, and they were liable to be treated very unceremoniously, so that the vulgar adage, "If the prince is bad, into the mud with him!" became a maxim of state policy.

There was here in the Russian land the germ of republicanism or constitutional monarchy, but it was not destined to be developed. The principality which was to become the nucleus of the future Russian empire was not Novgorod with its democratic institutions, but its eastern neighbour Moscow, in which the popular assembly played a very insignificant part, and the supreme law was the will of the prince. The opposition which he encountered came not from the burghers but from the boyars and the nobles.

Between Moscow and Novgorod there was a long and bitter rivalry, breaking out occasionally into armed conflicts, and among the princes of the other principalities the old struggle for precedence and territory went on unceasingly until it was suddenly interrupted, in the first half of the 13th century, by the unexpected irruption of an irresistible foreign foe coming from the mysterious regions of the Far East. "For our sins," says the Russian chronicler of the time, "unknown nations arrived. No one knew their origin or whence they came, or what religion they practised. That is known only to God, and perhaps to wise men learned in books." The Russian princes first heard of them from the wild nomadic Polovtsi, who usually pillaged the Russian settlers on the frontier but who now preferred

friendship and said: "These terrible strangers have taken our country, and to-morrow they will take yours if you do not come and help us." In response to this call some Russian princes formed a league and went out eastward to meet the foe, but they were utterly defeated in a great battle on the banks of the Kalka (1224), which has remained to this day in the memory of the Russian common people. Now the country was at the mercy of the invaders, but, instead of advancing, they suddenly retreated and did not reappear for thirteen years, during which the princes went on quarrelling and fighting as before, till they were startled by a new invasion much more formidable than its predecessor. This time the invaders came to stay, and they built for themselves a capital, called Sarai, on the lower Volga. Here the commander of "the Golden Horde," as the western section of the Mongol empire was called, fixed his headquarters and represented the majesty of his sovereign the grand khan who lived with the Great Horde in the valley of the Amur. About the origin and character of these terrible invaders we are much better informed than the early Russian chroniclers. The nucleus of the invading horde was a small pastoral tribe in Mongolia, the chief of which, known subsequently to Europe as Jenghiz Khan, became a mighty conqueror and created a vast empire stretching from China, across northern and central Asia, to the shores of the Baltic and the valley of the Danube —a heterogeneous state containing many nationalities held together by purely administrative ties and by an enormous military force. For forty years after the death of its founder it remained united under the authority of a series of grand khans chosen from among his descendants, and then it began to fall to pieces till the various fractions of it became independent khanates.

The khanate closely connected with the history of Russia was that of Kipchak or the Golden Horde, the khans of which settled, as we have seen, on the lower Volga and built for themselves a capital called Sarai. Here they had their headquarters and held Russia in subjection for nearly three centuries.

The term by which this subjection is commonly designated, the Mongol or Tatar yoke, suggests ideas of terrible oppression, but in reality these barbarous invaders from the Far East were not such cruel, oppressive taskmasters as is generally supposed. In the first place, they never settled in the country, and they had not much direct dealings with the inhabitants. In accordance with the admonitions of Jenghiz to his children and grandchildren, they retained their pastoral mode of life, so that the subject races, agriculturists and dwellers in towns, were not disturbed in their ordinary avocations. In religious matters they were extremely tolerant. When they first appeared in Europe they were idolaters or Shamanists, and as such they had naturally no religious fanaticism; but even when they adopted Islam they remained as tolerant as before, and the khan of the Golden Horde (Berkai) who first became a Mussulman allowed the Russians to found a Christian bishopric in his capital. One of his successors, half a century later, married a daughter of the Byzantine emperor, and gave his own daughter in marriage to a Russian prince. These represent the bright side of Tatar rule. It had its dark side also. So long as a great horde of nomads was encamped on the frontier the country was liable to be invaded by an overwhelming force of ruthless marauders. These invasions were fortunately not frequent, but when they occurred they caused an incalculable amount of devastation and suffering. In the intervals the people had to pay a fixed tribute. At first it was collected in a rough-and-ready fashion by a swarm of Tatar tax-gatherers, but about 1259 it was regulated by a census of the population, and, finally, the collection of it was entrusted to the native princes, so that the people were no longer brought into direct contact with the Tatar officials.

By the princes the "yoke" was felt more keenly, and it was very galling. In order to reply to accusations brought against them, or in order to be confirmed in their functions, they had to travel to the Golden Horde on the Volga or even to the camp of the grand khan in some distant part of Siberia, and the journey was considered so perilous that many of them, before setting out, made their last will and testament and wrote a parental admonition for the guidance of their children. Nor were these precautions by any means superfluous, for not a few princes died on the journey or were condemned to death and executed for real or imaginary offences. Even when the visit to the Horde did not end so tragically, it involved a great deal of anxiety and expense, for the Mongol dignitaries had to be conciliated very liberally, and it was commonly believed that the judges were more influenced by the amount of the bribes than by the force of the arguments. The grand khan was the lord paramount or suzerain of the Russian princes, and he had the force required for making his authority respected. Ambitious members of the Rurik dynasty, instead of seeking to acquire territory by conquest in the field, now sought to attain their ends by intrigue and bribery at the Mongol court.

Of all the princes who sought to advance their fortunes in this way the most dexterous and successful were those of Moscow. They made themselves responsible for the tribute of other principalities as well as of their own, and gradually they became lieutenants-general of their Mongol suzerain. So long as the Mongol empire remained united and strong, they were most submissive and obsequious, but as soon as it was weakened by internal dissensions and began to fall to pieces, they assumed airs of independence, intrigued with the insubordinate Tatar generals, retained for their own use the tribute collected for the grand khan, and finally put themselves at the head of the patriotic movement which aimed at

throwing off completely the hated Mongol yoke. For this purpose Dimitri Donskoi formed in 1380 a coalition of Russian princes, and gained a great victory over Khan Mamai of the Golden Horde on the famous battlefield of Kulikovo, the memory of which still lives in the popular legends. For some time longer the Tatars remained troublesome neighbours, capable of invading and devastating large tracts of Russian territory and of threatening even the city of Moscow, but the Horde was now broken up into independent and mutually hostile khanates, and the Moscow diplomatists could generally play off one khanate against the other, so that there was no danger of the old political domination being re-established.

Having thus freed themselves from Tatar control, the Moscow princes continued to carry out energetically their traditional policy of extending and consolidating their dominion at the expense of their less powerful relations. Already Dimitri of the Don was called the grand-prince of all Russia, but the assumption of such an ambitious title was hardly justified by facts, because there were still in his time principalities with grand-princes who claimed to be independent. The complete suppression of these small moribund states and the creation of the autocratic tsardom of Muscovy were the work of Ivan III., surnamed the Great, his son Basil and his grandson Ivan IV., commonly known as Ivan the Terrible, whose united reigns cover a period of 122 years (1462–1584).

CHAPTER XI

THE TSARDOM OF MUSCOVY

What may be called the home policy of these three remarkable rulers consisted in absorbing the few principalities which still remained independent, and in creating for themselves an uncontrolled monarchical authority. In the pursuit of both of these objects they were completely successful. When Ivan III. came to the throne the remaining independent principalities were Great Novgorod, Pskov, Tver, Ryazan and Novgorod-Seversk. He first directed his attention to Novgorod, and by gradually undermining and then destroying the ancient republican liberties he reduced the haughty city, which had long styled itself Lord Novgorod the Great, to the rank of a provincial town. Then he annexed its colonies and thereby extended his dominions to the Polar Ocean and the Ural Mountains. At the same time he took possession of Tver, on the ground that the prince had allied himself with Lithuania. His successor Basil followed in his footsteps, and dealt with the municipal republic of Pskov as Ivan had dealt with Novgorod. Finding the inhabitants too much attached to their ancient liberties, he abolished the popular assembly, removed the great bell to Novgorod, installed his own boyars in the administration, transported 300 of the leading families to other localities, replaced them by 300 families from Moscow, and left in the town a strong garrison of his own troops. Ryazan shared the same fate. In 1521 the prince, being suspected of forming an alliance with the Crimean Tatars, was summoned to Moscow and arrested. Two years later the prince of Novgorod Seversk was accused of intriguing with the Poles and imprisoned for the rest of his life. Thus all the principalities were brought under the power of Moscow, and in that respect there remained nothing for Ivan the Terrible to do. He took precautions, however, against any of the dead or moribund principalities being resuscitated, and punished with merciless severity any attempt to resist or undermine his authority.

With the suppression and absorption of the independent principalities the problem was only half solved. The tsars of Muscovy meant to be autocratic rulers alike in their old and in their new territories. Their forefathers had been trained in the Tatar school of politics and administration, and in their ideas of government they had come to resemble Tatar khans much more than grand-princes of the old patriarchal type. Their autocratic tendencies were fostered also by the Church. As Christianity was brought into Russia from Constantinople it was only natural that the ecclesiastics, many of whom were Greeks, should admire Byzantine ideals and recommend them as models to be imitated. For the ambitious Moscow princes many of the Byzantine ideas were very acceptable. They liked to consider themselves as the Lord's anointed, placed high above all ordinary mortals even of the most exalted rank; and when Constantinople fell into the hands of the infidel they began to imagine that, as the most powerful potentates of the Eastern Orthodox world they were the protectors of the Orthodox faith and the political heirs of the East Roman emperors. With a view to strengthen this claim Ivan III. married a niece of the emperor Constantine Palaeologus, who had fallen fighting when his capital was taken by the Turks (1453). From that moment Ivan's subjects noticed a change in his attitude towards them, and attributed it to the evil influence of the Greek princess. In the old times the grand-prince was simply *primus inter pares* among the minor princes, and these lived with their boyars almost on a footing of equality. Now the tsar of Muscovy and of all Russia adopted the airs and methods of a Tatar khan and surrounded himself with the pomp and

splendours of a Byzantine emperor. Ivan III., notwithstanding the influence of his Greek consort, showed some respect for the ancient traditions and the susceptibilities of those around him, but his successor Basil did not follow his father's example. All through his reign he preferred to employ as officials men of humble origin, and habitually treated the boyars and great nobles very unceremoniously. For disobedience to his orders he imprisoned a boyar who was his own brother-in-law, and he caused another to be beheaded for complaining that the boyar-council was not consulted in important affairs of state. A boyar of Nizhniy-Novgorod who allowed himself to criticize the new order of things, and attributed the change to the influence of the Greek princess, had his tongue cut out. From the ecclesiastics Basil likewise insisted on unquestioning obedience, and he did not hesitate to depose by his own authority a metropolitan who was at that time the highest dignitary of the Russian Church. According to Siegmund von Herberstein (1486–1566), an Austrian envoy who visited Moscow at that period, no sovereign in Europe was obeyed like the grand-prince of Muscovy, and his court was remarkable for barbaric luxury. In his palace were numerous equerries, chamberlains and other court dignitaries, and when he went out he was attended by a guard of young nobles dressed in gaudy costumes and armed with silver halberds.

Such radical changes naturally produced a great deal of dissatisfaction among men of Slavonic temperament, whose grandfathers had been independent princes, boyars or free lances, and the malcontents could not adopt the old practice of emigrating to some other principality. There was no longer within the Russian land any independent principality in which an asylum could be found, and emigration to a principality beyond the frontier, such as Lithuania, was regarded as treason, for which the property of the fugitive would be confiscated and his family might be punished. In these circumstances the only outlet for discontent was sedition, and the malcontents awaited impatiently a favourable opportunity for an attempt to curb or overthrow the autocratic power. That opportunity came when Basil died in 1533, leaving as successor a child only three years old, and the chances seemed all on the side of the nobles ; but the result belied the current expectations, for the child came to be known in history as Ivan the Terrible, and died half a century later in the full enjoyment of unlimited autocratic power. The fierce struggle between autocratic tyranny and oligarchic disorder, which went on in intermittent fashion during the whole of his reign, cannot be here described in detail, but the chief incidents may be mentioned.

During Ivan's minority the country was governed, or rather misgoverned, first by his mother, and then by rival factions led by great nobles such as the princes Shuiski and Bêlski. Only once during this period did the young tsar come forward and assert his authority. Having convoked his boyars he reproached them collectively with robbing the treasury and committing acts of injustice, and he caused one of them, a Prince Shuiski who happened to be in power at the moment, to be seized by his huntsmen and torn in pieces by a pack of hounds, as a warning to others. Thus apparently he asserted his authority, but in reality, being only thirteen years old, he was a mere puppet in the hands of one of the opposition factions, who wished to oust their rivals, and for the next four years the misgovernment of the nobles went on as before. It was not till he was about seventeen that he took an active part in the administration, and one of his first acts foreshadowed his future policy : he insisted on the metropolitan crowning him, not as grand-prince of Muscovy, but as tsar of all Russia (1547). From the earliest times the term tsar—a contraction of the word Caesar—had been applied to the kings in Biblical history and the Byzantine emperors, and Ivan III. had already been described in the Church service as " the ruler and autocrat of all Russia, the new Tsar Constantine in the new city of Constantine Moscow," but on no previous occasion had a grand-prince been crowned under that title. A few months later occurred in Moscow a great fire, which destroyed nearly the whole of the city, and a serious popular tumult, in which the tsar's uncle was murdered by the populace. Ivan regarded these events as a punishment from Heaven for the neglect of his duties, and he began to attend to public affairs under the influence of an enlightened priest called Sylvester and an official of humble origin called Adashev. With the assistance of these two counsellors he held in check the lawless, turbulent nobles, and ruled justly, to the satisfaction of the people, for fourteen years. Then suddenly, for reasons which cannot easily be explained, he inaugurated a reign of terror which lasted for twenty-four years and earned for him the epithet of " the Terrible." Though there had been no open insurrection, he caused many boyars and humbler persons to be executed, and when some of the great nobles, fearing a similar fate, fled across the frontier and tendered their allegiance to the prince of Lithuania, his suspicion and indignation increased and he determined to adopt still more drastic measures. For this purpose he organized, outside the regular administration, a large corps of civil officials and armed retainers, whose duty it was to obey him implicitly in all things ; and with this force, which rose rapidly from 1000 to 6000 men, he acted like a savage invader in a conquered country. Accompanied by these so-called *Oprichniki*, who have been compared to the Turkish Janissaries of the worst period, he ruthlessly devastated large districts—with no other object apparently than that of terrorizing the population and rewarding his myrmidons—and during a residence of six weeks in Novgorod, lest the old turbulent spirit of the municipal republic should revive, he massacred,

Photo Underwood & Underwood.

Moscow.

Moscow in winter from the river, a view showing the famous Kremlin with its five gates and Gothic towers and its innumerable sacred icons. It is the second, and older, capital of Russia, more than once rebuilt after successive destructions by fire, the last occurring during Napoleon's occupation in 1812.

it is said, no less than 60,000 of the inhabitants, including many women and children. It is quite possible, as some apologists suggest, that the number of his victims may have been exaggerated, but that they are to be counted by thousands there can be no doubt. In the monastery of St Cyril has been preserved a list of those for whom he requested the prayers of the Church, the total being 3470. The only reference to Novgorod in this curious document is: "Remember, O Lord, the souls of thy Novgorodian servants to the number of 1505 persons." According to the Novgorodian annalists as many as 1500 persons were sometimes put to death in a single day. Perhaps the discrepancy is to be explained by supposing that the pious tsar did not consider all his victims as servants of the Lord, whose souls deserved the prayers of the faithful.

While thus uniting under their vigorous autocratic rule the small rival principalities, the Moscow princes had to keep a watchful eye on their eastern neighbours. The Golden Horde, long weakened by internal dissensions, had now fallen into several khanates, the chief of which were Kazan, Astrakhan and the Crimea. As these independent Tatar states were always jealous of each other, and their jealousy often broke out in open hostility, it was easy to prevent any combined action on their part; and as in each khanate there were always several pretenders and contending factions, Muscovite diplomacy had little difficulty in weakening them individually and preparing for their annexation. In the case of Kazan and Astrakhan the annexation was effected without any great effort in 1552–54, and two years later the Bashkirs, who had likewise formed part of the great Mongol empire, consented to pay tribute. On the other hand, the khans of the Crimea were able, partly from their geographical position and partly from having placed themselves under the protection of the sultans of Turkey, to resist annexation for more than two centuries and to give the Muscovites a great deal of trouble, not only by frequent raids and occasional invasions, but also by allying themselves with the Western enemies of the tsars. As late as 1571 Moscow was pillaged by a Tatar horde; but there was no longer any question of permanent political subjection to the Asiatics, and the Russian frontier was being gradually pushed forward at the expense of the nomads of the steppe by the constant advance of the agricultural population in quest of virgin soil. These latter, like the colonists in the American Far West, had to be constantly on the alert against the attacks of their troublesome neighbours, and they accordingly organized themselves in semi-military fashion. Those of them who lived on the outskirts of the pacified territory adopted a mode of life similar to that of their hereditary opponents, and constituted a peculiar class known as Cossacks, living more by flocks and herds and by marauding expeditions than by agriculture. In the basins of the southern rivers they formed semi-independent military communities. Those of the Volga and the Don professed allegiance to the tsar of Muscovy, whilst those of the Dnieper recognized at first as their suzerain the king of Poland. In neither case did the allegiance involve strict obedience to orders from the superior, and their loyalty was always in danger of being troubled by their love of independence and equality and their desire for loot. More than once they raided and pillaged in wholesale fashion the territory they were supposed to protect. On the whole, however, at that period as in more recent times, they contributed largely to the process of territorial expansion.

Before the Eastern menace had been entirely removed the ambitious Moscow princes had begun to look with envious eyes beyond their western frontier. Here lay the principality of Lithuania and beyond it the kingdom of Poland, two loosely conglomerated states which had been created by the Piast and Gedymin dynasties in pretty much the same way as the tsardom of Muscovy had been created by the descendants of Rurik. When the two became united under one ruler towards the end of the 14th century they formed a broad strip of territory stretching from the Baltic to the Black Sea and separating Russia from central Europe. For Russian ambition the barrier was a formidable one, but it did not entirely preclude possibilities of expansion in a more or less remote future. When examined closely it was found to contain many internal flaws. In no sense could it be considered a homogeneous political unit, for in Lithuania the majority of the population were Russian in nationality, language and religion, whereas in Poland the great majority of the inhabitants were Polish and Roman Catholic. Gradually, it is true, the Lithuanian nobles, who possessed all the land and held the peasantry in a state of serfage, adopted Polish nationality and culture, but this change did not secure homogeneity, because the masses clung obstinately to their old nationality and religion, and all the efforts of the Church of Rome to bring them under papal authority proved fruitless. A further source of weakness was the political organization. Nominally it was an hereditary monarchy, but the warlike, turbulent nobles systematically encroached on the sovereign power till they reduced it to a mere shadow and made it elective, with the result that the kingdom of Poland, including the principality of Lithuania, was at last, politically speaking, the most anarchical country in Europe.

As the Muscovite and the Lithuano-Polish princes were equally ambitious and equally anxious to widen their borders, they naturally came into conflict. At first the Muscovite was decidedly the aggressor. On the death of Casimir, king of Poland and grand-prince of Lithuania, in 1492, the kingdom and the principality ceased to be united and Ivan III. considered he had a good opportunity for attacking the latter. After a short campaign a peace was concluded, and Ivan's daughter was given in marriage to the Lithuanian grand-

prince, but the matrimonial alliance did not improve the relations between the two countries. On the contrary it served as a pretext for Ivan to interfere in Lithuanian affairs. He not only insisted that his daughter's religion should be duly respected, but he constituted himself the protector of the Orthodox population and this led to a new war in 1499, which went on till 1503, when it was concluded by the cession to Russia of Chernigov, Starodub and 17 other towns. His successor, Basil, tried to get himself elected grand-prince of Lithuania when the throne became vacant by the death of his brother-in-law in 1506, but the choice fell on the late prince's brother Sigismund, who was likewise elected king of Poland. The two countries were thus once more united and better able to resist aggression, but some of the great nobles were discontented and Basil hoped with their assistance to attain his ends. He began war therefore in 1514 and at once captured Smolensk, but in the following year he was defeated, and the war dragged on during more than seven years, with varying successes and without any important result. In the negotiations for peace the inordinate pretensions of the Muscovite prince were put forward boldly : he not only refused to restore Smolensk, but celaimd Kiev and a number of other towns on the ground that in the old time of the independent principalities they had belonged to descendants of Rurik.

The policy of expansion westwards, inaugurated by Ivan III., was modified and enlarged by Ivan the Terrible. The former had aimed simply at making annexations in Lithuania ; the latter aspired to obtaining a firm footing on the Baltic coast and establishing direct relations, diplomatic and commercial, with the Western Powers. In this respect he was a precursor of Peter the Great, but he greatly underestimated the difficulties of the task. To reach the Baltic he had to overcome the resistance, not only of the Lithuanians and the Poles, but also of the Teutonic and Livonian military orders, the Swedes and the Danes, who all had possessions in the intervening territory and who all objected to the barbarous Muscovites, already sufficiently formidable, strengthening themselves by direct foreign trade with western Europe and especially by the importation of arms and cunning foreign artificers. Like the European settlers on the coast of Africa in more recent times, they wished the barbarians of the interior to be restricted to the use of their primitive weapons. One of the Polish kings, for example, threatened with death the English sailors who should attempt to carry on the illicit trade in arms, on the ground that " the Muscovite, who is not only our opponent of to-day but the eternal enemy of all free nations, should not be allowed to supply himself with cannons, bullets and munitions or with artisans who manufacture arms hitherto unknown to those barbarians." This was precisely the reason why Ivan IV. was so anxious to force his way to the coast. His grandfather had obtained from Venice an " artist " who undertook " to build churches and palaces, to cast big bells and cannons, to fire off the said cannons and to make every sort of castings very cunningly " ; and with the aid of that clever Venetian he had become the proud possessor of a " cannon-house," subsequently dignified with the name of " arsenal." In imitation of the grandfather the grandson gave a commission to a Saxon, in whom he had confidence, to collect artists and artisans in Germany and bring them to Moscow, but he was prevented from carrying out his scheme by the Livonian Order (1547). A few years later (1553) he found unexpectedly a different route for communication with the West. A ship of an English squadron which was trying to reach China by the North-East passage, entered the northern Dvina, and her captain, Richard Chancellor, journeyed to Moscow in quest of opportunities for trade. He met with such a favourable reception from the tsar that on his return to England a special envoy was sent to Moscow by Queen Mary, and he succeeded in obtaining for his countrymen the privilege of trading freely in Russian towns. In return the Russians were allowed to trade freely in England. This afforded great satisfaction to Ivan, but it did not entirely satisfy his requirements, because the new route by the White Sea and North Cape was long and uncertain and for a great part of the year communications were stopped by the ice. He continued, therefore, his efforts to reach the Baltic coast, and he soon came into collision with the Swedes. After a dilatory war of three years he concluded a peace on the ground of free commercial relations, and then he attacked the Livonian Order, on the pretext that the Livonian town of Dorpat had not paid tribute according to ancient treaties. Finding himself unable to resist the Muscovites, the grand master of the Order put himself under Polish protection, and this led to a seven years' war (1563–70) with Poland, during which the Swedes and Danes intervened on their own account. Ivan did not display much military talent, but he showed a remarkable amount of tenacity. No sooner had he made peace with the Poles and failed to get himself elected as their king, than he began a war with the Swedes which dragged on for more than a decade (1572–83), and before it was ended he was again at war with Poland (1579–81). Though severely tried by disappointments and defeats he never lost hope, and when he died in 1584 he was preparing to renew the struggle and endeavouring to form for that purpose an alliance with England ; his great idea, however, was not to be realized till more than a century later, and meanwhile the tsardom of Muscovy had to pass through a severe internal crisis in which its existence was seriously endangered.

Ivan the Terrible had succeeded in stamping out ruthlessly all open resistance to his will, and had created an autocratic government of the Oriental type ; but the elements of disorder were still lying beneath the surface, and as soon as the cunning, energetic despot

died they reappeared. His son and successor, Theodore (Feodor), was a weak man of saintly character, very ill fitted to consolidate his father's work and maintain order among the ambitious, turbulent nobles ; but he had the good fortune to have an energetic brother-in-law, with no pretensions to sanctity, called Boris Godunov, who was able, with the tsar's moral support, to keep his fellow-boyars in order. This he did during fourteen years, and his administration was signalized by two important innovations the attaching of the peasants to the land (*adscriptio glebae*) and the creation of the patriarchate—both of which deserve a passing notice.

Boris has often been called the creator of serfage in Russia, but in reality he merely accelerated a process which was the natural result of economic conditions. In a primitive, thinly populated, agricultural country, in which the demand for agricultural labour greatly exceeds the supply, the value of land is in proportion to the number of permanent labourers settled on it, and the landed proprietors naturally try to attract to their estates as many peasants as possible ; and in this competition the large proprietors have evidently an advantage over their humbler and weaker rivals. Such had been for a considerable time the condition of Russia, and the small proprietors were now becoming so impoverished that they could no longer fulfil their duties to the state. The remedy they proposed was that the labourers should be prohibited from migrating from one estate to another, and an order to that effect was issued, with the result that the peasants, being no longer able to change their domicile and seek new employers, fell practically under the unlimited power of the proprietors on whose land they resided. This change was, of course, popular among the lower and middle ranks of the landlord class, but was very displeasing to the great nobles.

The second of the two innovations above mentioned was popular among all classes. Hitherto the highest authority in the Russian Church was the metropolitan, who was nominally under the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople, and as soon as Constantinople fell into the hands of the infidel, and the tsars of Muscovy claimed to be the successors of the Byzantine emperors, it seemed right and proper that the Russian Church should become autocephalous and be governed by an independent Russian patriarch. The change was very dexterously effected by Godunov, with the formal assent of the Eastern Orthodox Church as a whole, and one of his adherents was placed on the patriarchal throne.

Having thus gained the support of a large majority of the landed proprietors and the ecclesiastics, Boris Godunov increased his influence to such an extent that on the death of Tsar Feodor without male issue in 1598 he was elected his successor by a Great National Assembly. His short reign was not so successful as his administration under the weak Feodor. The oligarchical party considered it a disgrace to obey a simple boyar ; conspiracies were frequent, the rural districts were desolated by famine and plague, great bands of armed brigands roamed about the country committing all manner of atrocities, the Cossacks on the frontier were restless, and the government showed itself incapable of maintaining order. Under the influence of the great nobles who had unsuccessfully opposed the election of Godunov, the general discontent took the form of hostility to him as a usurper, and rumours were heard that the late tsar's younger brother Dimitri (Demetrius), supposed to be dead, was still alive and in hiding. In 1603 a man calling himself Dimitri, and professing to be the rightful heir to the throne, appeared in Poland, and a few months later he crossed the frontier with a large force of Poles, Russian exiles, German mercenaries and Cossacks from the Dnieper and the Don. In reality the younger son of Ivan the Terrible had been strangled before his brother's death—by orders, it was said, of Godunov—and the mysterious individual who was impersonating him was an impostor ; but he was regarded as the rightful heir by a large section of the population, and immediately after Boris's death in 1605 he made his triumphal entry into Moscow. Thus began a period of Russian history commonly called " the Troublous Times," which lasted until 1613.

The reign of Dimitri was short and uneventful. Before a year had passed a conspiracy was formed against him by an ambitious noble called Basil (Vassili) Shuiski, and he was assassinated in the Kremlin. The chief conspirator, Shuiski, seized the power and was elected tsar by an Assembly composed of his faction, but neither the ambitious boyars, nor the pillaging Cossacks, nor the German mercenaries were satisfied with the change, and soon a new impostor, likewise calling himself Dimitri, son of Tsar Ivan, came forward as the rightful heir. Like his predecessor, he enjoyed the protection and support of the Polish king, Sigismund III., and was strong enough to compel Shuiski to abdicate ; but as soon as the throne was vacant Sigismund put forward as a candidate his own son, Wladislaus. To this latter the people of Moscow swore allegiance on condition of his maintaining Orthodoxy and granting certain rights, and on this understanding the Polish troops were allowed to occupy the city and the Kremlin. Then Sigismund unveiled his real plan, which was to obtain the throne not for his son but for himself. This scheme did not please any of the contending factions and it roused the anti-Catholic fanaticism of the masses. At the same time it was displeasing to the Swedes, who had become rivals of the Poles on the Baltic coast, and they started a false Dimitri of their own in Novgorod.

Russia was thus in a very critical condition. The throne was vacant, the great nobles quarrelling among themselves, the Catholic Poles in the Kremlin of Moscow, the Protestant

Swedes in Novgorod, and enormous bands of brigands everywhere. The severity of the crisis produced a remedy, in the form of a patriotic rising of the masses under the leadership of a butcher called Minin and a Prince Pozharski. In a short time the invaders were expelled, and a Grand National Assembly elected as tsar Michael Románov, the young son of the metropolitan Philaret, who was connected by marriage with the late dynasty.

During the reign of Michael (1613–45) the new dynasty came to be accepted by all classes, and the country recovered to some extent from the disorders and exhaustion from which it had suffered so severely; but it was not strong enough to pursue at once an aggressive foreign policy, and the tsar prudently determined to make peace with Sweden and conclude an armistice of fourteen years with Poland. At the conclusion of the armistice in 1632, during a short interregnum in Poland, he attempted to avenge past injuries and recover lost territory; but the campaign was not successful, and in 1634 he signed a definitive treaty by no means favourable to Russia. That lesson was laid to heart, and he subsequently maintained a purely defensive attitude. As a precaution against Tatar invasions he founded fortified towns on his southern frontiers—Tambov, Kozlov, Penza and Simbirsk; but when the Don Cossacks offered him Azov, which they had captured from the Turks, and a National Assembly, convoked for the purpose of considering the question, were in favour of accepting it as a means of increasing Russian influence on the Black Sea, he decided that the town should be restored to the sultan, much to the disappointment of its captors.

In the reign of Michael's successor, Alexius (1645–76), the country recovered its strength so rapidly that the tsar was tempted to revive the energetic aggressive policy and put forward claims to Livonia, Lithuania and Little Russia, but he was obliged to moderate his pretensions. Livonia continued to be under Swedish rule, and Lithuania remained united with Poland. Some advantages, however, were obtained. Smolensk and Chernigov were definitely incorporated in the tsardom of Muscovy, and great progress was made towards the absorption of Little Russia.

Roughly speaking, Little Russia, otherwise called the Ukraine, may be described as the basin of the Dnieper southward of the 51st parallel of latitude. In the 16th century it was a thinly populated region inhabited chiefly by Cossacks, speaking the so-called Little Russian dialect, and until 1569 it formed nominally part of Lithuania, but was practically independent. In that year, when Lithuania and Poland were permanently united, it fell under Polish rule, and the Polish government considered it necessary to tame the wild inhabitants and bring them under regular administration. For this decision there were good reasons, for those turbulent sons of the steppe paid no taxes and were much given to brigandage, and their raiding propensities occasionally created international difficulties with the khan of the Crimea and the sultan of Turkey. It was proposed, therefore, in 1576, that 6000 families should be registered as a militia under a Polish Hetman for the protection of the country against Tatar raids, and that the remainder of the inhabitants should be assimilated to the ordinary peasants of Poland. This arrangement was very distasteful to all classes. The registered Cossacks objected to being placed under a Hetman not freely chosen by themselves, and those who were not included in the militia objected still more strongly to the prospect of being reduced to the miserable condition of Polish serfs. To escape this danger many of them moved down the river and settled on the waste lands beyond the rapids. Here, about 1590, was founded an independent military colony called the *Setch*, the members of which, recognizing no authority but that of their own elected officers, lived by fishing, hunting and making raids on the Tatars, and were always ready to assist their less fortunate countrymen in resisting Polish aggression. For half a century the struggle between the two races went on with varying success, but on the whole the Polish government proved stronger than its insubordinate subjects, and about 1638 it seemed to have attained its object. Polish proprietors settled in large numbers on the Cossack territory, and great efforts were made, with the assistance of the Jesuits, to bring the Orthodox population under papal authority. But for both proprietors and Jesuits a surprise was in store. Threatened seriously in their liberty and their faith, the people rose with greater enthusiasm than before, and a general insurrection, in which the peasants joined, spread over the whole country under the leadership of Bogdan Chmielnicki or Khmelnitski, whose name is still remembered in the Ukraine. As in all previous insurrections the Poles proved stronger in the field, and Khmelnitski in desperation sought foreign assistance, first in Constantinople and then in Moscow. For some time Tsar Alexius hesitated, because he knew that intervention could entail a war with Poland, but after consulting a National Assembly on the subject, he decided to take Little Russia under his protection, and in January 1654 a great Cossack assembly ratified the arrangement, on the understanding that a large part of the old local autonomy should be preserved. In the expected war with Poland, which followed quickly, the Russians were so successful that the arrangement was upheld; but it was soon found that the Cossacks, though they professed unbounded devotion to the Orthodox tsar, disliked Muscovite, quite as much as Polish, interference in their internal affairs, and some of their leaders were in favour of substituting federation with Poland for annexation by Russia. In these circumstances the tsar was induced to accept a compromise, and signed in 1667 the treaty of Andrussovo, by which the territory in dispute

was partitioned and the middle course of the Dnieper became the frontier between Russia and Poland.

In the reign of Alexius a conflict took place between the tsar and the patriarch, which is often described as a conflict between Church and State, and which illustrates the relations between the temporal and the spiritual power in Russian state-organization. Until the beginning of the 17th century the Byzantine tradition that in all matters outside the sphere of dogma the ecclesiastical is subordinate to the civil power had been observed in Russia; but the traditional conceptions had been to some extent undermined during the reign of Michael, when the metropolitan Philaret, who was the tsar's father, became patriarch and was associated with his son in the government on a footing of equality. Like the tsar, he had the official title of " Great Lord " (*veliki gosudár*), and he had his palace, his court-dignitaries, his retinue, his boyars and his officials all organized on the model of those of the sovereign. Without his assent and blessing no important decisions were taken, all state documents emanating from the highest authority bore his signature, and he was regarded, both in the official world and by the public generally, as the tsar's equal in rank and dignity. His immediate successors, being men of humble origin and submissive character, made no pretensions to such an exalted position, but when the haughty, ambitious and energetic Nikon, who enjoyed in large measure the affection and favour of the devout Tsar Alexius, became patriarch, he took Philaret as his model, and propounded, like the popes in western Europe, the doctrine that the spiritual is higher than the temporal power, the former corresponding to the sun and the latter to the moon in the firmament. In accordance with this view he declared that the patriarch was the image of Christ, the head of the Church, and was therefore subject to no earthly authority, and he complained of the tsar's interference in ecclesiastical affairs. His pretensions and his haughty dictatorial manner at last exhausted the tsar's patience, and he was formally deposed and exiled to a monastery.

During the Russian Dark Ages certain clerical errors had crept into the liturgical books and certain peculiarities had been adopted in the ritual. These had been detected and pointed out by learned ecclesiastics of Kiev, where some of the ancient learning of Byzantium had been preserved, and Nikon determined to make the necessary corrections. He determined also to introduce into the Church many desirable reforms. His project was approved by an ecclesiastical council and was supported by the tsar, but it met with violent opposition from a large section of the clergy, and it alarmed the ignorant masses, who regarded any alterations in the ritual, however insignificant they might be, as heretical and very dangerous to salvation. When put into execution the project produced in the Russian Church a great schism and numerous fantastic sects. The cruel persecutions instituted by the authorities with a view to securing conformity increased the number and fanaticism of the schismatics and heretics, and created among them a widespread belief that the reign of Antichrist, foretold in the Apocalypse, was at hand. In support of this idea, independently of the ecclesiastical innovations, many significant facts could be adduced. Numerous foreigners had been allowed to settle in Moscow and to build for themselves a heretical church, and their strange unholy customs had been adopted by not a few courtiers and great dignitaries. Matveyev, the most influential of the boyars, had married a foreigner who conversed freely with her husband's male friends, contrary to the Muscovite notions of respectability and decorum, and his house, in which the tsar was a frequent visitor, was furnished and decorated in foreign fashion. Books on mundane subjects, not at all conducive to the spiritual edification of the faithful, were read by the tsar's counsellors, and a theatre had been erected, in which the tsar often witnessed very unedifying dramas and ballets. Worst of all, the Orthodox tsar occasionally abandoned the decorous flowing robes of his venerated ancestors, and appeared publicly in the unseemly costume of heretical foreigners, whilst his consort, when carried through the streets in a litter, did not conceal her face from the public gaze. Such innovations troubled deeply the pious souls of the conservative Muscovites, and confirmed them in their repugnance to accept the ecclesiastical reforms. Though this original fanaticism gradually cooled and the rigorists had to make many concessions to the exigencies of practical life, a large section of the Russian people remained outside the official fold, so that at the present day, if we may credit the most competent authorities, the schismatics and heretics number more than twelve millions.

While the Muscovites of the upper classes were thus beginning to abandon their old oriental habits, their government was preparing to make a political evolution of a similar kind. Notwithstanding the efforts of the Poles and the Military Orders to exclude Russia from the shores of the Baltic and keep her in a state of isolation, she was coming slowly into closer relations with central and western Europe. The emperor, the governments of England, Holland, France and Sweden, and even the Grand Turk made advances to the tsar. Some of them wished to gain him as an ally against their rivals, whilst others hoped to obtain from him commercial privileges and permission to trade directly with Persia. The political and the commercial proposals were alike received with coldness, because the native diplomatists had aims which could not be reconciled completely with the policy of any other country, and the native merchants were afraid of foreign competition. The negotiations gave, therefore, little tangible result, but they helped to prepare the way for the new order of things which was soon to be introduced by Alexius's son, Peter the Great.

CHAPTER XII

PETER THE GREAT

BEFORE reaching the new order of things, the country had to pass through an internal crisis similar to that which followed the death of Ivan the Terrible, but not nearly so severe. Alexius had been twice married and had left several children by each of his wives, and, as generally happened in such cases, a struggle for power ensued between the two rival families. The late tsar's eldest son, Theodore, was weak in health and died without male issue after an uneventful reign of six years (1676–82). As the second son, Ivan, next in the order of succession, was almost an imbecile, the third son, Peter, born of the second marriage, was proclaimed tsar, and his maternal relations became the dominant faction, but their triumph was of very short duration. An ambitious, energetic sister of Ivan, well known in Russian history as Sophia Alexeyevna, instigated the *stryeltsi* (*strelitz*), as the troops of the unreformed standing army were called, to upset the arrangement. After making a tumult in the Kremlin and assassinating several of the men in power, they insisted that Ivan should be proclaimed tsar conjointly with Peter, and that Sophia should act as regent during the minority of the two young sovereigns. She accepted unhesitatingly the difficult and dangerous post, and ruled autocratically for seven years (1682–89), but this did not satisfy her ambition. Having discovered that Peter, who had reached the age of seventeen, was thinking of taking the administration into his own hands, she conspired against him with the commander of the *stryeltsi* and some of his maternal relations ; but she was circumvented by the rival faction and interned in a convent, and Peter's mother was put in her place. The importance of these incidents, which are very characteristic of political life in the tsardom of Muscovy, will appear in the sequel.

If Peter really thought of taking the administration into his own hands, he very soon abandoned the idea and returned to the irregular suburban life he had led during his half-sister's regency—associating with foreigners who could teach him the mechanical arts of the West, drilling troops, building and sailing boats, forming projects for the creation of a great navy, indulging publicly in Bacchanalian revels and boisterous amusements not at all to the taste of his pious countrymen, and appearing in Moscow as Orthodox tsar only on great ceremonial occasions. Already the desire to make his country a great naval power was becoming his ruling passion, and when he found by experience that the White Sea, Russia's sole maritime outlet, had great practical inconveniences as a naval base, he revived the project of getting a firm footing on the shores of the Black Sea or the Baltic. At first he gave the preference to the former, and with the aid of a flotilla of small craft, constructed on a tributary of the Don, he succeeded in capturing Azov from the Turks. Greatly elated by this success, he recommended to the council of boyars the construction of a powerful fleet for carrying on war with the infidel, and he himself went abroad to learn more about shipbuilding and useful foreign inventions, and to prepare diplomatically the projected crusade. His foreign tour, during which he visited Germany, Holland, England, France and Austria, lasted nearly a year and a half, and was suddenly interrupted, when on his way from Vienna to Venice to study the construction of war-galleys, by the alarming news that the turbulent *stryeltsi* of Moscow had mutinied anew with the intention of placing Sophia on the throne. On arriving in Moscow he found that the mutiny had been suppressed and the ringleaders punished, but he considered it necessary to reopen the investigation and act with exemplary severity. Of the surviving mutineers over

twelve hundred were executed, some of them by his own hand, and the entire corps was disbanded.

From this moment may be dated the personal reign of Peter, for he now began to direct personally all branches of the administration, and governed with indefatigable vigour for twenty-seven years, during which he greatly increased the area and profoundly modified the internal condition of his country. At first he concentrated his attention on foreign affairs. During his foreign tour he had discovered that the idea of a grand crusade against the infidel was irrealizable, for France was, according to her traditional policy, the ally of the sultan, Austria wished to avoid trouble on her eastern frontier in order to devote her energies to the question of the Spanish succession, and all the other countries which he wished to draw into the coalition had good reasons of their own for desiring the maintenance of peace in eastern Europe. For his Baltic schemes, on the contrary, he had found the ground well prepared. During a halt of a few days in Poland on his way back from Vienna, King Augustus had explained to him a project for partitioning the trans-Baltic provinces of Sweden, by which Poland should recover Livonia and annex Esthonia, Russia should obtain Ingria and Karelia, and Denmark should take possession of Holstein. As Sweden was known to be exhausted by the long wars of Gustavus Adolphus and his successors, and weakened by internal dissensions, the dismemberment seemed an easy matter, and Peter embarked on the scheme with a light heart; but his illusions were quickly dispelled by the eccentric young Swedish king, Charles XII., who arrived suddenly in Esthonia and completely routed the Russian army before Narva. Thus began the so-called Northern War, which lasted intermittently for more than twenty years, and was terminated by the treaty of Nystad (Sept. 10, 1721). By that treaty Peter acquired not only Ingria and Karelia, as originally contemplated, but also Livonia, Esthonia and part of Finland. The problem of obtaining a firm footing on the Baltic coast, on which Ivan the Terrible had squandered his resources to no purpose, was now solved satisfactorily.

Peter's other favourite scheme, that of acquiring the command of the Black Sea, was as far from realization as ever. In the midst of the Northern War, shortly after the great Russian victory of Poltava (1709), the sultan, at the instigation of Swedish and French agents, determined to recover Azov, and made great military preparations for that purpose. Having annihilated at Poltava the army of Charles XII., Peter was not at all indisposed to renew the struggle with Turkey, and began the campaign in the confident hope of making extensive conquests; but he had only got as far as the Pruth when he found himself surrounded by a great Turkish army, and, in order to extricate himself from his critical position, he had to sign a humiliating treaty by which Azov and other conquests were restored to the sultan. His dreams of freeing the Christians from the yoke of the infidel had to be abandoned, and the conquest of the northern shores of the Black Sea was postponed till the reign of Catherine II.

Those tedious and exhausting wars did not prevent Peter from attending to internal affairs, and he displayed as a reformer even more vigour and tenacity than as a general in the field. His first reforms were connected with the army. Several of his immediate predecessors had come to recognize that Russia, with her antiquated military organization, was unable to cope with her Western neighbours, and had begun to organize, with the help of foreigners, a military force more in accordance with modern requirements; but the progress made in that direction had been slow and unsatisfactory. Unlike his predecessors, Peter was in a hurry to realize his plans, and he set to work at once. In less than two years from the time of disbanding the *stryeltsi* he contrived to create an army of 40,000 men. This army, it is true, was so inefficient that it was completely routed by the Swedish king with a most inferior force, but it was improved gradually until it learned to conquer its Swedish opponents. To accomplish such a feat it was necessary, of course, to expend large sums of money; and as the country could ill bear an increase of taxation, the whole financial system had to be improved and the natural resources of the country had to be developed. At the same time the military and financial requirements dislocated the local and central administration, and consequently a series of radical administrative reforms had to be undertaken. Thus one reform led to another; but Peter was not dismayed by the magnitude of the task, and worked vigorously in all departments with a sublime disregard for the clamour of reactionary opponents and for the feelings and prejudices of his subjects in general. A prudent ruler in his position would have sought to preserve the outward forms while changing the inner substance, but Peter was not at all prudent in that sense. Very often he wantonly provoked opposition, as when he shaved off his beard and compelled his chief officials to do likewise, though he well knew that the operation was regarded by the ignorant masses and the pious of all ranks as a sinful defacing of the image of God. In his eyes the beard was a symbol of the old régime, and as such it must be removed. Reckless of consequences, he swept away the venerated ceremonial formalities which his ancestors had scrupulously observed, openly scoffed at ancient usage, habitually dressed in foreign costume, and generally chose foreign heretics as his boon companions. In adopting foreign innovations, he showed, like the Japanese of the present day, no sentimental preference for any particular nation, and was ready to borrow from the Germans, Dutch, English, Swedes or French whatever seemed best suited for his purpose. The innovations, it must be

admitted, did not prove so efficient as he expected, because human nature and traditional habits cannot be changed as quickly as institutions. When the Boyar Duma became the Senate, and the *Prikazi* or administrative departments were organized under the name of Colleges, and when every important town was endowed with a *Rathhaus*, a *Polizeimeister*, gilds, aldermen, and all the municipal paraphernalia of western Europe, the vices of the old institutions survived in the new. Notwithstanding the changes in organization and terminology, the officials remained ignorant, indolent, careless, indifferent to the public welfare, high-handed and extortionate, and the local self-government which was intended to enlighten and control them proved sadly wanting in vitality and practically worthless. So inefficient, indeed, were the reforms as a whole, and so unsuited to the national character and customs, that the Slavophil critics of a later date could maintain plausibly the paradoxical thesis that in regard to internal administration Peter was anything but a national benefactor. However that may be, it must be confessed even by Slavophils that he dragged his countrymen, more by force than by persuasion, from the paths of traditional routine and pushed them along with all his might on the broad road of progress in the modern sense of the term. Abandoning the ancient Muscovite capital, where many influential personages were fanatically hostile to his innovations and not a few of the superstitious inhabitants regarded him with horror as Anti-christ, he built at the mouth of the Neva a new capital which was to serve as "a window through which his people might look into Europe"; and laying aside the national title of tsar he proclaimed himself (1711) emperor (Imperator) of all Russia—much to the surprise and indignation of foreign diplomatic chancelleries, which resented the audacity of a semi-barbarous potentate in claiming to be equal in rank with the head of the Holy Roman Empire. Gradually, however the chancelleries had to withdraw their protests, for it came to be generally recognized that the semi-barbarian, who died at the early age of fifty-three, had transformed the oriental tsardom of Muscovy into a state of the Western type and had made it a powerful member of the European family of nations.

CHAPTER XIII

CATHERINE II.

On the death of Peter (1725) the internal tranquillity and progress of the empire were again seriously threatened by the uncertainty of the order of succession, and the autocratic power which he had wielded so vigorously passed into the hands of a series of weak, indolent sovereigns who were habitually guided by personal caprice and the advice of intriguing favourites rather than by serious political considerations. During this period, which lasted from 1725 to 1762, the male line of the Romanov dynasty became extinct, and the succession passed to various members of the female line, which intermarried with German princes. In this way German influence was enormously increased, and was represented by men of considerable capacity holding the highest official positions, such as Biren, Münnich and Ostermann. The main events of the period may be summarized very briefly. Peter, by his first marriage, had a son, the unhappy cesarevich Alexius, who figures more largely in imaginative literature than in history—a narrow-minded, obstinate, pious youth, who had no sympathy with his father's violent innovations, and was completely under the influence of the old Muscovite reactionary faction. Intimidated by the paternal anger and threats he took refuge in Austria, and when he had been induced by illusory promises to return to Russia he was tried for high treason by a special tribunal, and after being subjected to torture died in prison (1718). To avert the danger of a man of this type succeeding to the throne Peter made a law by which the reigning sovereign might choose his successor according to his own judgment, and two years later he caused his second wife, Catherine, the daughter of a Lithuanian peasant, to be crowned with all due solemnity, "in recognition of the courageous services rendered by her to the Russian Empire." This gave Catherine a certain right to the throne at her husband's death, and her claims were supported by Peter's most influential coadjutors, especially by Prince Menshikov, an ambitious man of humble origin who had been raised by his patron to the highest offices of state. On the other hand, the great nobles of more conservative tendencies wished to get the young son of the cesarevich Alexius made emperor under their own control. The former faction triumphed, and Catherine reigned for about a year and a half, after which the son of the cesarevich Alexius, Peter II., occupied the throne from 1727 to 1730. At first he was under the tutelage of Menshikov, who wished him to marry his daughter, but he soon contrived, with the aid of the Dolgorukis and other old families, to get his imperious tutor arrested and exiled to Siberia. The Dolgorukis and their friends thus came into power, and on the death of Peter II. in 1730 they offered the throne to Anne, duchess of Courland, a daughter of Ivan V., elder brother of Peter the Great, on condition of her signing a formal document by which the seat of government should be transferred from Petrograd to Moscow, and the autocratic power should be limited and controlled by a grand council composed of their own faction. Anne accepted the condition and became empress, but when she discovered that the attempt to limit her powers in favour of a small conservative oligarchy was extremely unpopular among all classes, she submitted the question to an assembly of 800 ecclesiastical and lay dignitaries, and at their request the unlimited autocratic rule was re-established. Her reign (1730–40) was a régime of methodical German despotism on the lines laid down by her uncle, Peter the Great, and as she was naturally indolent and much addicted to frivolous amusements, the administration was directed by her favourite Biren and other men of German origin. Having no male

issue, she chose as her successor the infant son of her niece, Anna Leopoldovna, duchess of Brunswick, and at her death the child was duly proclaimed emperor, under the name of Ivan VI., but in little more than a year he was dethroned by the partisans of the Princess Elizabeth, a daughter of Peter the Great and Catherine I. As a true daughter of the great Russian reformer, Elizabeth (1741–61) relegated the German element to a subordinate position in the administration and gave her confidence to genuine Russians like Bestuzhev, Vorontsov, Razumovski (her morganatic husband) and the Shuvalovs. Her hatred of Germans showed itself likewise in her persistent struggle with Frederick the Great, which cost Russia 300,000 men and 30 millions of roubles—an enormous sum for those days—but in the choice of a successor she could not follow her natural inclinations, for among the few descendants of Michael Romanov there was no one, even in the female line, who could be called a genuine Russian. She proclaimed, therefore, as heir-apparent the son of her deceased elder sister Anna, Charles Peter Ulrich, duke of Holstein-Gottorp, a German in character, habits and religion, and tried to Russianize him by making him adopt the Eastern Orthodox faith and live in Petrograd during the whole of her reign; but her well-meant efforts were singularly unsuccessful. Impervious to Russian influence, he remained true to his original nationality, and by his undisguised aversion to everything in his adopted country and his passionate, childish admiration of Frederick the Great, he made himself so unpopular that within a few months of his accession, in December 1761, he was dethroned and assassinated by the partisans of his ambitious and able consort, the famous Catherine II.[1]

During the long reign of Catherine II. (1762–96) Russia made rapid progress in civilization, and came to be fully recognized as one of the Great Powers. Coming after a series of incompetent rulers, the German princess proved herself a worthy successor to Peter the Great both in home and in foreign affairs; but she was not a mere imitator. Peter had endeavoured to import from western Europe the essentials of good government and such of the useful arts as were required for the development of the natural resources of the country; Catherine did likewise, but she did not restrict herself to purely utilitarian aims in the narrower sense of the term. She strove to impart also something of the refinement and ornamental attributes of Western civilization, and aspired to raise her adopted fatherland intellectually and artistically to the west-European level. This new departure she lost no time in proclaiming to the world. Within a few months of her accession, having heard that the publication of the famous French *Encyclopédie* was in danger of being stopped by the French government on account of its irreligious spirit, she proposed to Diderot that he should complete his great work in Russia under her protection. Four years later she endeavoured to embody in a legislative form the principles of enlightenment which she had imbibed from the study of the French philosophers. A Grand Commission, which might be called a consultative parliament, composed of 652 members of all classes—officials, nobles, burghers and peasants—and of various nationalities, was called together at Moscow to consider the needs of the empire and the means of satisfying them. The instructions for the guidance of the Assembly were prepared by the empress herself and were, as she frankly admitted, the result of "pillaging the philosophers of the West," especially Montesquieu and Beccaria. As many of the democratic principles frightened her more moderate and experienced advisers, she wisely refrained from immediately putting them into execution. After holding more than 200 sittings the so-called Commission was dissolved without getting beyond the realm of theory and *pia desideria*. Subsequently very important reforms were introduced, not by the vote of an assembly, but by the *fiat* of the autocratic power. The

[1] To assist the reader in threading the genealogical maze briefly described above, the following tabular statement is inserted :—

(I.) Michael, founder of the Romanov dynasty (1613–45).
|
(II.) Alexius (1645–76).
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(III.) Theodore (1676–82). | (IV.) Ivan V. (1682–). | Sophia (Regent 1682–89). | (IV.) Peter I. + (V.) Catherine I. (1682–1725). (1725–27).

Catherine, duchess of Mecklenburg. | (VII.) Anne (1730–40). | Cesarevich Alexius | Anna, duchess of Holstein. | (IX.) Elizabeth (1741–61).

Anna Leopoldovna, duchess of Brunswick. | (VI.) Peter II. (1727–30). | (X.) Peter III. + (XI.) Catherine II. (1761–62). (1762–96).

(VIII.) Ivan VI. (1740–41).

large territorial units of administration created by Peter the Great were broken up into so-called "governments" (*gubernii*) and further subdivided into districts (*uyezdy*), and each government was confided to the care of a governor and a vice-governor assisted by a council. A certain amount of local self-government was entrusted to the nobles and the burghers, and the judicial administration was thoroughly reorganized in an enlightened and humane spirit. The great estates of the Church, on which were settled about a million serfs, were secularized and assimilated with the state-domains. At one moment the idea of emancipating all the serfs was entertained, but the project was speedily abandoned, because it would have alienated the nobles—the only class on which Catherine could rely for support. To conciliate them she greatly extended the area of serfage by making large grants of land and serfs to courtiers and public servants who had specially distinguished themselves. About education a great deal was spoken and written, and a certain amount of progress was effected. Whilst primary education was neglected, secondary schools were created in the principal towns and a Russian Academy was founded in Petrograd. In the imperial court, so far as outward decorum and refinement were concerned, there was an immense improvement, and the upper section of the old Russian *Dvorianstvo* became a noblesse with French aristocratic conceptions and ideals. A taste for French literature spread rapidly, and the poets and dramatists of Paris found clever imitators in Petrograd.

By such means, Catherine made herself very popular in the upper ranks of society, but as a woman and a usurper who did little or nothing to lighten the burdens of the people she failed to gain the loyalty and devotion of the masses. In the first part of her reign popular discontent found expression in various forms, and on one occasion it produced a serious insurrection. In 1773 a Don Cossack called Pugachev, who was so uneducated that he could not even sign the manifestoes written for him, declared himself to be Peter III., and announced that he was going to Petrograd to punish his faithless wife and place his son Paul on the throne. Many believed, or affected to believe, in the pretender, and in a short time he gathered around him a large force of Cossacks, peasants, Tatars and Tchuvash, swept over the basin of the lower Volga, executed mercilessly the landed proprietors, seized and pillaged the town of Kazan, and kept the whole country in a state of alarm for more than a year. Finally, after a crushing defeat in which 2000 of the insurgents were killed and 6000 taken prisoners, he was betrayed by some of his followers and executed in Moscow. His name and exploits still live in the popular legends, and the insurrection is often referred to in revolutionary pamphlets as a laudable popular protest against tyrannical autocracy.

In foreign affairs Catherine devoted her attention mainly to pushing forward the Russian frontier westwards and southwards, and as France was the traditional ally of Sweden, Poland and Turkey, she adopted at first the so-called *système du Nord*, that is to say, a close alliance with Prussia, England and Denmark against France and Austria, who had buried their traditional enmity in the famous alliance of 1756. The first step westwards was taken in Courland, which lay between Russian territory and the Baltic coast. At the time of her accession the duchy was ruled by a son of the Polish king Augustus III., and he gave a pretext for aggression by refusing to allow Russian troops returning from the Seven Years' War to pass through his territory. For this unfriendly act he was deposed and replaced by Biren, who had previously been duke of Courland (1737–40) and had since been an exile in Siberia and Yaroslav. Under Biren (1763–69) and his son and successor (1769–95), as nominees of Catherine, Courland was completely under Russian influence until 1795, when it was formally incorporated with the empire. The next country to feel the expansive tendencies of Russia was Poland, which had now very little power of resistance. Whilst Russia, Austria, Prussia and France were becoming powerful monarchies with centralized administration, Poland had remained a weak feudal republic with an elected king chosen under foreign influence and fettered by constitutional restrictions. All political authority was in the hands of turbulent nobles who quarrelled among themselves, who were always inclined to submit the questions at issue to the arbitrament of arms, and who did not scruple to invite foreign powers to intervene on their behalf. The middle classes, which were making other countries rich and powerful, existed only in an embryonic condition. Instead of a well-organized army of the modern type there was merely an undisciplined militia composed almost exclusively of irregular cavalry; and the national defences as a whole were so weak that, in the opinion of such a competent authority as Maurice of Saxony, the country might easily be conquered by a regular army of 48,000 men. Here was a tempting field for the application of Catherine's aggressive policy, and if she had had to deal merely with the Poles she would have had an easy task. Unfortunately for the success of her schemes she had to reckon with stronger states which were anxious to check the Russian advance, and which were determined, in the event of aggression, to have a share of the plunder. Frederick the Great was at that moment impatient to extend and consolidate his kingdom by getting possession of the basin of the lower Vistula, which separated eastern Prussia from the rest of his dominions, while Austria had also claims on Polish territory and would certainly not submit to be excluded by her two rivals. In these circumstances Catherine hesitated to bring matters to a crisis, but her hand was forced by Frederick, and in 1772 the first partition of Poland took place without any very strenuous resistance on the part of the victim. This national disaster opened the eyes of many Polish patriots to the

necessity of changing radically the old order of things, and an attempt was made by them to remove some of the more glaring absurdities of the existing constitution : the throne was declared to be hereditary, the *liberum veto* by which any petty noble could annul the most important decision of the national assembly was abolished, the royal authority was greatly strengthened, and the towns were empowered to send deputies to the Diet (1791). Such salutary reforms were naturally unwelcome to the aggressive neighbours who wished to preserve the traditional anarchy in order to have new facilities for intervention, and as Russia had signed with the puppet-king in 1768 a treaty by which the constitution could not be modified without her consent, she had a plausible ground for protest. She waited, however, until a deputation of the malcontents, who regretted the loss of *liberum veto* and who were afraid that the party of reform might undertake the emancipation of the serfs, came to Petrograd and asked for support in defence of the ancient liberties. Then an imperial manifesto reminding the Poles of the treaty of 1768 was issued and a large Russian force entered the Ukraine. This led to the second partition (1793), by which Russia obtained the eastern provinces with three millions of inhabitants. Even now the work of spoliation was not complete. When the patriots under Koscziusko made a desperate effort to recover the national independence the struggle produced a third partition (1795), by which the remainder of the kingdom was again divided between Russia, Prussia and Austria. Thus Poland disappeared for a time from the map of Europe.

Russia's advance westward raised indirectly the Eastern Question, because it threatened two of France's traditional allies, Sweden and Poland, and Choiseul considered that the best means of checkmating Catherine's aggressive schemes was to incite France's third traditional ally, Turkey, to attack her. This was not a difficult matter, because the Sublime Porte had many things to complain of in the past and had good reason to fear aggression in the near future. War was accordingly declared in 1768, but it proved disastrous for the sultan ; and he had to sign in 1774 the treaty of Kuchuk-Kainarji, which gave Russia a firm hold on the Black Sea and the lower Danube. The Tatars of the Bug, of the Crimea and of the Kuban were liberated from the suzerainty of the Porte ; Azov, Kinburn and all the fortified places of the Crimea were ceded to Russia ; the Bosphorus and Dardanelles were opened to Russian merchant vessels ; and Russian ambassadors obtained the right to intervene in favour of the inhabitants of the Danubian principalities. Ten years later the semblance of independence which was left to the khans of the Crimea was destroyed and the peninsula formally annexed to the empire.

The peace concluded at Kuchuk-Kainarji was not of long duration. Catherine had conceived an ambitious plan of solving radically the Eastern Question by partitioning Turkey as she and her allies had partitioned Poland, and she had persuaded the emperor Joseph II. to take part in the scheme. It was intended that Russia should take what remained of the northern coast of the Black Sea, Austria should annex the Turkish provinces contiguous to her territory, the Danubian principalities and Bessarabia should be formed into an independent kingdom called Dacia, the Turks should be expelled from Europe, the Byzantine empire should be resuscitated, and the grand-duke Constantine, second son of the Russian heir-apparent, should be placed on the throne of the Palaeologi. Rumours of this gigantic scheme reached Constantinople, and as Catherine's menacing attitude left little doubt as to her aggressive intentions the Porte presented an ultimatum and finally declared war (1787). Fortune again favoured the Russian arms, but as Austria was less successful and signed a separate peace at Sistova in 1791, Catherine did not obtain much material advantage from the campaign. By the peace of Jassy, signed in January 1792, she retained Ochakov and the coast between the Bug and the Dniester, and she secured certain privileges for the Danubian principalities, but the Turks remained in Constantinople, and the realization of the famous Greek project, as it was termed, had to be indefinitely postponed.

During the first years of the French Revolution Catherine's sympathy with philosophic liberalism rapidly evaporated, and she did all in her power to stimulate the hostility of the European sovereigns to the democratic movement ; but she carefully abstained from joining the Coalition, and waited patiently for the moment when the complications in western Europe would give her an opportunity of solving independently the Eastern Question in accordance with Russian interests. That moment never came. In November 1796, when the country was not yet prepared to enter on a decisive struggle with Turkey, Catherine died at the age of sixty-six, and was succeeded by her son Paul, whom she had kept during her long reign in a state of captivity.

The short reign of Paul (1796–1801) resembled in many points the still shorter one of his father, Peter III. Both sovereigns were childishly wayward and capriciously autocratic ; both were recklessly indifferent to the feelings, convictions and wishes of those around them ; both took a passionate interest in the minutiae of military affairs ; as Peter had conceived a boundless admiration for Frederick the Great, so Paul conceived a similar admiration for Napoleon, and both suddenly reversed the national policy to suit this feeling ; both were singularly blind to the consequences of their foolish conduct ; and both fell victims to court conspiracies which could be in some measure justified, or at least excused, on patriotic grounds.

CATHERINE II. OF RUSSIA.

CATHERINE II., Empress of Russia, the "Semiramis of the North" to Voltaire and her foreign friends and flatterers, a strong, original but often cruel ruler of her loyal Russian subjects, and a woman of unbridled passions and innumerable caprices, whose private life was a scandal even in a tolerant age.

Paul left no deep, permanent mark on Russian history. In internal affairs he wished to undo what his mother had done, but his impulsive, incoherent efforts in that direction merely dislocated the administrative mechanism without producing any tangible results. In foreign affairs he displayed the same capriciousness and want of perseverance. After proclaiming his intention of conferring on his subjects the blessings of peace, he joined in 1798 an Anglo-Austrian coalition against France; but when Austria paid more attention to her own interests than to the interests of monarchical institutions in general, and when England did not respect the independence of Malta, which he had taken under his protection, he succumbed to the artful blandishments of Napoleon and formed with him a plan for ruining the British empire by the conquest of India. Having roused, by what ought perhaps to be called his insanity, the enmity, distrust and fear of all around him, including some members of his own family, he was assassinated on the night of the 23rd to 24th of March 1801, and was succeeded by his son Alexander I.

CHAPTER XIV

ALEXANDER I. AND NICHOLAS I.

The early part of Alexander's reign (1801–25) was a period of generous ideas and liberal reforms. Under the influence of his Swiss tutor, Frederick César de Laharpe, he had imbibed many of the democratic ideas of the time, and he aspired to put them in practice, with the assistance at first of three young friends, Novosiltsov, Adam Czartoryski and Strogonov, who were his intimate counsellors and were popularly known as the Triumvirate, and later of Mikhail Speranski. Some of the more oppressive measures of the previous reign were abolished; the clergy, the nobles and the merchants were exempted from corporal punishment; the central organs of administration were modernized and the Council of the Empire was created; the idea of granting a constitution was academically discussed; great schemes for educating the people were entertained; parish schools, gymnasia, training colleges and ecclesiastical seminaries were founded; the existing universities of Moscow, Vilna and Dorpat were reorganized and new ones founded in Kazan and Kharkov; the great work of serf-emancipation was begun in the Baltic provinces. In all these schemes Alexander took a keen personal interest; but his enthusiasm was soon cooled by practical difficulties, and his attention became more and more engrossed by foreign affairs.

At that time, in respect of foreign affairs, Russia was entering on a new phase of her history. Hitherto she had confined her efforts to territorial expansion in eastern Europe and in Asia, and she had sought foreign alliances merely as temporary expedients to facilitate the attainment of that object. Now she was beginning to consider herself a powerful member of the European family of nations, and she aspired to exercise a predominant influence in all European questions. This tendency was already shown by Catherine when she created the League of Neutrals as an arm against the naval supremacy of England, and by Paul when he insisted that his peace negotiations with Bonaparte should be regarded as part of a general European pacification, in which he must be consulted. Alexander insisted still more strongly on this claim, and in the convention which he concluded with the First Consul in October 1801 it was agreed that the maintenance of a just equilibrium between Austria and Prussia should be taken as an invariable principle in the plans of both parties, that the integrity of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies should be respected, that the duke of Württemberg should receive in Germany an indemnity proportionate to his losses, that the dominions of the elector of Bavaria should be preserved intact, and that the independence of the Ionian Islands should not be violated. Having obtained these important concessions the tsar imagined for a moment that in any further territorial changes he would be consulted and his advice allowed due weight, and he seems even to have indulged in the hope that the affairs of Europe might be directed by himself and his new ally. His illusion was soon dispelled, because the aims and policy of the two potentates were utterly irreconcilable. Whilst the one strove to erect bulwarks against French aggression, the other was preparing the ground for fresh annexations. During 1803–4 the breach between the two rivals widened, because Napoleon became more and more aggressive and unceremonious in Italy and Germany. Before the end of 1803 Alexander had come to perceive the necessity of resisting him energetically in order to save Europe from complete subjection, and in August 1804 he recognized that an armed conflict was inevitable. It broke out in the following year, and after the battles of Austerlitz (December 1805) and Friedland (June 1807), in which the Russians

were completely defeated, the two sovereigns had their famous interviews at Tilsit, at which they not only made peace but agreed to divide the world between them, with a sublime indifference to the interests of other states. The grandiose project was at once vaguely outlined in three formal documents, to the intense satisfaction of both parties, and on both sides there was much rejoicing at the conclusion of such an auspicious alliance; but the diplomatic honeymoon was not of long duration. The mutual assurances of unbounded confidence, admiration and sympathy, if there was any genuine sincerity in them, represented merely a transient state of feeling. Napoleon, who could brook no equal, was nourishing the secret hope that his confederate might be used as a docile subordinate in the realization of his own plans, and the confederate soon came to suspect that he was being duped. His suspicions were intensified by the hostile criticisms of the Tilsit arrangement among his own subjects and by the arbitrary conduct of his ally, who continued his aggressions in reckless fashion as if he were sole master of Europe. The sovereigns of Sardinia, Naples, Portugal and Spain were dethroned, the pope was driven from Rome, the Rhine Confederation was extended till France obtained a footing on the Baltic, the grand-duchy of Warsaw was reorganized and strengthened, the promised evacuation of Prussia was indefinitely postponed, an armistice between Russia and Turkey was negotiated by French diplomacy in such a way that the Russian troops should evacuate the Danubian principalities, which Alexander intended to annex to his empire, and the scheme for breaking up the Ottoman empire and ruining England by the conquest of India, which had been one of the most attractive baits in the Tilsit negotiations, but which had not been formulated in the treaty, was no longer spoken of. At the same time Napoleon threatened openly to crush Austria, and in 1809 he carried out his threat by defeating the Austrian armies at Wagram and elsewhere, and dictating the treaty of Schönbrunn (October 14).

Russia now remained the only unconquered power on the continent, and it was evident that the final struggle with her could not be long delayed. It began in 1812 by the advance of the *Grande Armée* on Moscow, and it ended in 1815 at Waterloo. During those three years Alexander was the chief antagonist of Napoleon, and it was largely due to his skill and persistency that the allies held together and freed Europe permanently from the Napoleonic domination. When peace was finally concluded, he had obtained that predominant position in European politics which had been the object of his ambition since the commencement of his reign, and he now believed firmly that he had been chosen by Providence to secure the happiness of the world in general and of the European nations in particular. In the fulfilment of this supposed mission he was not very successful, because his conception of national happiness and the means of obtaining it differed widely from that of the peoples whom he wished to benefit. They had fought for freedom in order to liberate themselves not only from the yoke of Napoleon but also from the tyranny of their own governments, whereas he expected them to remain submissively under the patriarchal institutions which their native rulers imposed on them. Thus, in spite of his academic sympathy with liberal ideas, he became, together with Metternich, a champion of political stagnation, and co-operated willingly in the reactionary measures against the revolutionary movements in Germany, Italy and Spain. In the affairs of his own country he refrained from developing and extending the liberal institutions which he had created immediately after his accession, and he finally adopted in all departments of administration a strongly reactionary policy. This naturally caused profound disappointment and dissatisfaction in the liberal section of the educated classes and especially among the young officers of the regiments which had spent some years in western Europe. Some of these officers had been in touch with the revolutionary movements, and had adopted the idea then prevalent in France, Germany and Italy that the best instrument for assuring political progress was to be found in secret societies. In Russia such societies began to be formed about 1816. The tsar, though he came to know of their existence, refrained from taking repressive measures against them, and when he died suddenly at Taganrog on the 1st of December 1825, two of them made an attempt to realize their political aspirations. The heir to the throne was the late tsar's eldest brother, Constantine, but he declined, for private reasons, to accept the succession, and a few days elapsed before the second brother, Nicholas, was proclaimed emperor. Taking advantage of this short interregnum, some members of the secret societies, mostly officers of the Guards, organized a mutiny among the troops quartered in Petrograd and in Podolia, with a view to effecting a political revolution, but the movement was easily suppressed, and the ringleaders, known subsequently as the Decembrists, were severely punished.

Nicholas was a blunt soldier incapable of comprehending his brother's sentimental sympathy with liberalism. The Decembrists' abortive attempt at revolution and the Polish insurrection of 1831, which he crushed with great severity, confirmed him in his conviction that Russia must be ruled with a strong hand. That conviction he put into practice with extreme rigour during the thirty years of his reign (1825–55), endeavouring by every means at his disposal to prevent revolutionary ideas from germinating spontaneously among his subjects and from being imported from abroad. For this purpose he created a very severe press-censorship and an expensive system of passports, which made it more difficult for Russians to visit foreign countries. It would be unjust, however, to say that he was the determined enemy of all progress. Progress was to be made in certain directions and in a

certain way. Not only was the army to be well drilled and the fleet to be carefully equipped, but railways were to be constructed, river-navigation was to be facilitated, manufacturing industry was to be developed, commerce was to be encouraged, the administration was to be improved, the laws were to be codified and the tribunals were to be reorganized. All this was to be done, however, under the strict supervision and guidance of the autocratic power, with as little aid as possible from private initiative and with no control whatever of public opinion, because influential public opinion is apt to produce insubordination. When the results proved unsatisfactory, remedies were sought in increased administrative supervision, draconian legislation and severe punishment, and no attempt was made to get out of the vicious circle. In the last months of his life, under the influence of a great national disaster, the conscientious, persistent autocrat began to suspect that his system was a mistake, but he still clung to it obstinately. " My successor," he is reported to have said on his death-bed, " may do as he pleases, but I cannot change ! "

This steadfast faith in autocratic methods and the exaggerated fear of revolutionary principles were shown in foreign as well as in home affairs. Like Alexander in the last period of his reign, Nicholas considered himself the supreme guardian of European order, and was ever on the watch to oppose revolution in all its forms. Hence he was generally in strained relations with France, especially in the time of Louis Philippe, who became king not by the grace of God but by the will of the people. During the revolutionary ferment of 1848–49 he urged the Prussian king to refuse the imperial crown, co-operated with the Austrian emperor in suppressing the Hungarian insurrection, and compelled the Prussians to withdraw their support from the insurgents in Schleswig-Holstein. Unfortunately for the peace of the world his habitual policy of maintaining the existing state of things was frequently obscured and disturbed by his desire to maintain and increase his own and his country's prestige, influence and territory. By the Persian War, which broke out in 1826, in consequence of frontier disputes, he annexed the provinces of Erivan and Nakhichevan, and during the whole of his reign the conquest of the Caucasus was systematically carried on. With regard also to the Ottoman empire his policy cannot be said to have been conservative. As protector of the Orthodox Christians he espoused the cause of the rayahs in Greece, Servia and Rumania. Under a threat of war he obtained in 1826 the Convention of Akerman, by which the autonomy of Moldavia, Walachia and Servia was confirmed, free passage of the straits was secured for merchant ships and disputed territory on the Asiatic frontier was annexed, and in July 1827 he signed with England and France the treaty of London for the solution of the Greek question by the mediation of the Powers. As the sultan rejected the mediation, his fleet was destroyed by the combined squadrons of the three Powers at Navarino ; and as this " untoward event " did not suffice to overcome his resistance, a Russian army crossed the Danube and after two hard-fought campaigns advanced to Adrianople. Here, on the 14th of September 1829, was signed a treaty by which the Porte ceded to Russia the islands at the mouth of the Danube and several districts on the Asiatic frontier, granted full liberty to Russian navigation and commerce in the Black Sea, and guaranteed the autonomous rights previously accorded to Moldavia, Walachia and Servia. By the 10th article of the treaty, moreover, Turkey acceded to the protocol of the 22nd of March 1829, by which the Powers had agreed to the erection of Greece into a tributary principality. This attempt of Russia to secure the sole prestige of liberating Greece was, however, frustrated by the action of the other Powers in putting forward the principle of the independence of the new Greek state, with a further extension of frontiers.

The result of the war was to make Russia supreme at Constantinople ; and before long an opportunity of further increasing her influence was created by Mehemet Ali, the ambitious pasha of Egypt, who in November 1831 began a war with his sovereign in Syria, gained a series of victories over the Turkish forces in Asia Minor and threatened Constantinople. Sultan Mahmud II. after appealing in vain to Great Britain for active assistance turned in despair to Russia. Nicholas immediately sent his Black Sea fleet into the Bosphorus, landed on the Asiatic shore a force of 10,000 men, and advanced another large force towards the Turkish frontier in Bessarabia. Under pressure from England and France the Egyptians retreated and the Russian forces were withdrawn, but the tsar had meanwhile (July 8, 1833) concluded with the sultan the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, which constituted ostensibly a defensive and offensive alliance between the two Powers and established virtually a Russian protectorate over Turkey. In a secret article of the treaty the sultan undertook in the event of a *casus foederis* arising, and in consideration of being relieved of his obligations under the articles of the public treaty, to close the Dardanelles to the warships of all nations " *au besoin*," which meant in effect that in the event of Russia being threatened with an attack from the Mediterranean he would close the Dardanelles against the invader. England and France protested energetically and the treaty remained a dead letter, but the question came up again in 1840, after Mahmud's renewed attempt to crush Mehemet Ali had ended in the utter defeat of the Turks by Ibrahim at Nezib (June 24, 1839). This time Mehemet Ali was supported by the French government, which aimed at establishing predominant influence in Egypt, but he was successfully opposed by a coalition of Great Britain, Russia, Austria and Prussia, which checkmated the aggressive designs of France by the convention of London (July 15, 1840). In this way the development of Russian policy with regard to

ALEXANDER I.

ALEXANDER I., Tsar of Russia (1777-1825), autocrat and Jacobin, man of the world and mystic, maker of the first Franco-Russian Alliance (with Napoleon), and inspirer of the terrible system of government by secret police.

By courtesy of Miss Netta Peacock.

Turkey was checked for some years, but the project of confirming and extending the Russian protectorate over the Orthodox Christians was revived in 1852, when Napoleon III. obtained for the Roman Catholics certain privileges with regard to the Holy Places in Palestine. At the same time Austria intervened in Montenegrin affairs and induced the sultan to withdraw his troops from the principality. In these two incidents the tsar perceived a diminution of Russian prestige and influence in Turkey, and Prince Menshikov was sent on a special mission to Constantinople to obtain reparation in the form of a treaty which should guarantee the rights of the Orthodox Church with regard to the Holy Places and confirm the protectorate of Russia over the Orthodox rayahs, established by the treaties of Kainarji, Bucharest and Adrianople. The resistance of the sultan, supported by Great Britain and France, led to the Crimean War, which was terminated by the taking of Sevastopol (September 1855) and the treaty of Paris (March 30, 1856). By that important document Russia reluctantly consented to a strict limitation of her armaments in the Black Sea, to withdrawal from the mouths of the Danube by the retrocession of Bessarabia which she had annexed in 1812, and finally to a renunciation of all special rights of intervention between the sultan and his Christian subjects. Nicholas did not live to experience this humiliation. He had died at Petrograd on the 2nd of March 1855 and had been succeeded by his eldest son, Alexander II.

CHAPTER XV

ALEXANDER II.

The first decade of Alexander's reign is commonly known in Russia as "the epoch of the great reforms," and may be described as a violent reaction against the political and intellectual stagnation of the preceding period. The repressive system of Nicholas, in which all other public interests were sacrificed to that of making Russia a great military power, the guardian of order in Europe and the predominant factor in the Eastern Question, had been tried and found wanting. Ending in a military disaster and a diplomatic humiliation, it had failed to attain even the narrow object for which it had been created. This was clearly perceived and keenly felt by the educated classes, and as soon as the strong hand of the uncompromising autocrat was withdrawn, they clamoured loudly for radical changes in the aims and methods of their rulers. Russia must adopt, it was said, those enlightened principles and liberal institutions which made the Western nations superior to her not only in the arts of peace but even in the art of war; only by imitating her rivals could she hope to overtake and surpass them in the race of progress. On that subject there was wonderful unanimity, and the few persons who could not join in the chorus had the prudence to remain silent. For the first time in the history of Russia public opinion in the modern sense became a power in the state and influenced strongly the policy of the government. Though the young emperor was of too phlegmatic a temperament to be carried away by the prevailing excitement and of too practical a turn of mind to adopt wholesale the doctrinaire theories of his self-constituted, irresponsible advisers, he recognized that great administrative and economic changes were required, and after a short period of hesitation he entered on a series of drastic reforms, of which the most important were the emancipation of the serfs, the thorough reorganization of the judicial administration and the development of local self-government. All these undertakings, in which the humane, liberal-minded autocrat received the sympathy, support and co-operation of the more enlightened of his subjects, were successfully accomplished. The serfs were liberated entirely from the arbitrary rule of the landowners and became proprietors of the communal land; the old tribunals which could be justly described as "dens of iniquity and incompetence," were replaced by civil and criminal law-courts of the French type, in which justice was dispensed by trained jurists according to codified legislation, and from which the traditional bribery and corruption were rigidly excluded; and the administration of local affairs—roads, schools, hospitals, &c.—was entrusted to provincial and district councils freely elected by all classes of the population. In addition to these great and beneficent changes, means were taken for developing more rapidly the vast natural resources of the country, public instruction received an unprecedented impetus, a considerable amount of liberty was accorded to the press, a strong spirit of liberalism pervaded rapidly all sections of the educated classes, a new imaginative and critical literature dealing with economic, philosophical and political questions sprang into existence, and for a time the young generation fondly imagined that Russia, awakening from her traditional lethargy, was about to overtake, and soon to surpass, on the path of national progress, the older nations of western Europe.

These sanguine expectations were not fully realized. The economic and moral condition of the peasantry was little improved by freedom, and in many districts there were signs of positive impoverishment and demoralization. The local self-government institutions after a short period of feverish and not always well-directed activity,

showed symptoms of organic exhaustion. The reformed tribunals, though incomparably better than their predecessors, did not give universal satisfaction. In the imperial administration, the corruption and long-established abuses which had momentarily vanished, began to reappear. Industrial enterprises did not always succeed. Education produced many unforeseen and undesirable practical results. The liberty of the press not unfrequently degenerated into licence, and sane liberalism was often replaced by socialistic dreaming. In short, it became only too evident that there was no royal road to national prosperity, and that Russia, like other nations, must be content to advance slowly and laboriously along the rough path of painful experience. In these circumstances sanguine enthusiasm naturally gave way to despondency, and the reforming zeal of the government was replaced by tendencies of a decidedly reactionary kind. Partly from disappointment and nervous exhaustion, and partly from a conviction that the country required rest in order to judge the practical results of the reforms already accomplished, the tsar refrained from further initiating new legislation, and the government gave it to be understood that the epoch of the great reforms was closed.

In the younger ranks of the educated classes this state of things produced keen dissatisfaction, which soon found vent in revolutionary agitation. At first the agitation was of an academic character and was dealt with by the press-censure; but it gradually took the form of secret associations, and the police had to interfere. There were no great, well-organized secret societies, but there were many small groups, composed chiefly of male and female students of the universities and technical schools, which worked independently for a common purpose. Finding that the walls of autocracy could not be overturned by blasts of revolutionary trumpets in the periodical press and in clandestinely printed seditious proclamations, the young enthusiasts determined to seek the support of the masses, or, as they termed it, "to go in among the people" (*idti v narôd*). Under the disguise of doctors, midwives, school teachers, governesses, factory hands or common labourers, they sought to make proselytes among the peasantry and the workmen in the industrial centres by revolutionary pamphlets and oral explanations. For a time the propaganda had very little success, because the uneducated peasants and factory workers could not understand the phraseology and abstract principles of socialism; but when the propagandists descended to a lower platform and spread rumours that the tsar had given all the land to the peasants, and was prevented by the proprietors and officials from carrying out his benevolent intentions, there was a serious danger of agrarian disorders, and energetic measures were adopted by the authorities. Wholesale arrests were made by the police, and many of the accused were imprisoned or exiled to distant provinces, some by the regular tribunals, and others by so-called "administrative procedure" without a formal trial. The activity of the police and the sufferings of the victims naturally produced intense excitement and bitterness among those who escaped arrest, and a secret organization calling itself the Executive Committee announced in its clandestinely printed organs that the functionaries who distinguished themselves in the suppression of the propaganda would be "removed." A number of prominent officials were accordingly condemned to death by this secret terrorist tribunal, and in some cases the sentences were carried out. General Mezentsov, the head of the political police, was assassinated in broad daylight in one of the principal streets of Petrograd, and in the provinces a good many officials of various grades shared the same fate. As these acts of terrorism had quite the opposite of the desired effect, repeated attempts were made on the life of the emperor, and at last the carefully laid plans of the conspirators were successful. On the 13th of March 1881, when returning from a military parade to the Winter Palace, Alexander II. was terribly wounded by the explosion of a bomb, and died shortly afterwards.

In respect of foreign policy the reign of Alexander II. differed widely from that of Nicholas. The Eastern Colossus no longer inspired respect and fear in Europe. Until the country had completely recovered from the exhaustion of the Crimean War the government remained in the background of European politics. Its attitude was graphically described in the famous declaration of Prince Gorchakov: "La Russie ne boude pas; elle se recueille." On one point, however, this description was not accurate; Russia sulked so far as Austria was concerned, for she could not forget that the emperor Francis Joseph, by his wavering and unfriendly conduct towards her during the Crimean War, had ill repaid her assistance to the Habsburg Monarchy in 1849, and had fulfilled the cynical prediction of Prince Schwarzenberg that his country would astonish the world by her ingratitude. It was not without secret satisfaction, therefore, that Prince Gorchakov watched the repeated defeats of the Austrian army in the Italian campaign of 1859, and he felt inclined to respond to the advances made to him by Napoleon III.; but the germs of a Russo-French alliance, which had come into existence immediately after the Crimean War, ripened very slowly, and they were completely destroyed in 1863 when the French emperor wounded Russian sensibilities deeply by giving moral and diplomatic support to the Polish insurrection. On that occasion Bismarck helped Gorchakov to ward off the threatened intervention of France and England, and he thereby founded the cordial relations which subsisted between the cabinets of Berlin and Petrograd down to 1878, and which contributed powerfully to the creation of the German empire by defending the Prussian cabinet against the jealousy

and enmity of Austria and France. In return for these services Bismarck helped Russia to recover a portion of what she had lost by the Crimean War, for it was thanks to his connivance and diplomatic support that she was able in 1871 to denounce with impunity the clauses of the treaty of Paris which limited Russian armament in the Black Sea. Had the tsar been satisfied with this important success, which enabled him to rebuild Sevastopol and construct a Black Sea fleet, his reign might have been a peaceful and prosperous one, but he tried to recover the remainder of what had been lost by the Crimean War, the province of Bessarabia and predominant influence in Turkey. To effect this he embarked on the Turkish War of 1877–78, which ended in disappointment. Though the campaign enabled him to recover Bessarabia at the expense of his Rumanian ally, it did not increase Russian prestige in the East, because the Russian army was repeatedly repulsed by the Turks, and when at last it reached Constantinople, it was prevented from entering the city by the threatening attitude of England and Austria. In the field of diplomacy there was likewise disappointment. The concessions extorted from the Porte in the preliminary treaty of San Stefano (March 3, 1878) were revived and considerably modified in favour of Turkey by the congress of Berlin (June 13–July 13, 1878).

Much greater success attended the efforts of Russian diplomacy and Russian arms in Asia. By the treaty of Aigun (May 28, 1858), and without any military operations, the cession of a great part of the basin of the Amur was obtained from China. Six years later began the rapid expansion of Russia in Central Asia, and at the end of Alexander II.'s reign her domination had been firmly established throughout nearly the whole of the vast expanse of territory lying between Siberia on the north and Persia and Afghanistan on the south, and stretching without interruption from the eastern coast of the Caspian to the Chinese frontier. The greater part of the territory was formally incorporated into the empire, and the petty potentates, such as the khan of Khiva and the amir of Bokhara, who were allowed to retain a semblance of their former sovereignty, became obsequious vassals of the White Tsar.

NICHOLAS I., Tsar of Russia (1796-1855), "stern and severe, with fixed principles of duty which nothing on earth will ever make him change,"—so Queen Victoria summed up his character.

By courtesy of Miss Netta Peacock.

ALEXANDER II., Tsar of Russia (1818-1881), will be remembered by posterity as a great reformer and the emancipator of the Serfs. By a special irony of fate he met his death at the hands of an assassin.

By courtesy of Miss Netta Peacock.

ALEXANDER III., Tsar of Russia (1845-1894). A characteristic portrait of the downright slow-moving Tsar whose ideals of nationality, orthodoxy and autocracy formed a strong contrast to those of his more liberal and progressive father.

By courtesy of Miss Netta Peacock.

CHAPTER XVI

ALEXANDER III. AND NICHOLAS II.

The assassination of Alexander II. by the terrorists made a profound impression on his son and successor, and determined the general character of his rule. Alexander III. (1881–94), who had never sympathized with liberalism in any form, entered frankly on a reactionary policy, which was pursued consistently during the whole of his reign. He could not, of course, undo the great reforms of his predecessor, but he amended them in such a way as to counteract what he considered the exaggerations of liberalism. Local self-government in the village communes, the rural districts and the towns was carefully restricted, and placed to a greater extent under the control of the regular officials. The reformers of the previous reign had endeavoured to make the emancipated peasantry administratively and economically independent of the landed proprietors; the conservatives of this later era, proceeding on the assumption that the peasants did not know how to make a proper use of the liberty prematurely conferred upon them, endeavoured to re-establish the influence of the landed proprietors by appointing from amongst them "land-chiefs," who were to exercise over the peasants of their district a certain amount of patriarchal jurisdiction. The reformers of the previous reign had sought to make the new local administration (*zemstvo*) a system of genuine rural self-government and a basis for future parliamentary institutions; these later conservatives transformed it into a mere branch of the ordinary state administration, and took precautions against its ever assuming a political character. Even municipal institutions, which had never shown much vitality, were subjected to similar restrictions. In short, the various forms of local self-government, which were intended to raise the nation gradually to the higher political level of western Europe, were condemned as unsuited to the national character and traditions, and as productive of disorder and demoralization. They were accordingly replaced in great measure by the old autocratic methods of administration, and much of the administrative corruption which had been cured, or at least repressed, by the reform enthusiasm again flourished luxuriantly.

In a small but influential section of the educated classes there was a conviction that the revolutionary tendencies, which culminated in Nihilism and Anarchism, proceeded from the adoption of cosmopolitan rather than national principles in all spheres of educational and administrative activity, and that the best remedy for the evils from which the country was suffering was to be found in a return to the three great principles of Nationality, Orthodoxy, and Autocracy. This doctrine, which had been invented by the Slavophils of a previous generation, was early instilled into the mind of Alexander III. by Pobêdonostsev, who was one of his teachers, and later his most trusted adviser, and its influence can be traced in all the more important acts of the government during that monarch's reign. His determination to maintain autocracy was officially proclaimed a few days after his accession. Nationality and Eastern Orthodoxy, which are so closely connected as to be almost blended together in the Russian mind, received not less attention. Even in European Russia the regions near the frontier contain a great variety of nationalities, languages and religions. In Finland the population is composed of Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking Protestants; the Baltic provinces are inhabited by German-speaking, Lett-speaking and Esth-speaking Lutherans; the inhabitants of the south-western provinces are chiefly Polish-speaking Roman Catholics and Yiddish-speaking Jews; in the Crimea

and on the Middle Volga there are a considerable number of Tatar-speaking Mahommedans; and in the Caucasus there is a conglomeration of races and languages such as is to be found on no other portion of the earth's surface. Until recent times these various nationalities were allowed to retain unmolested the language, religion and peculiar local administration of their ancestors; but when the new nationality doctrine came into fashion, attempts were made to spread among them the language, religion and administrative institutions of the dominant race. In the reigns of Nicholas I. and Alexander II. these attempts were merely occasional and intermittent; under Alexander III. they were made systematically and with very little consideration for the feelings, wishes and interests of the people concerned. The local institutions were assimilated to those of the purely Russian provinces; the use of the Russian language was made obligatory in the administration, in the tribunals and to some extent in the schools; the spread of Eastern Orthodoxy was encouraged by the authorities, whilst the other confessions were placed under severe restrictions; foreigners were prohibited from possessing landed property, and in some provinces administrative measures were taken for making the land pass into the hands of Orthodox Russians. In this process some of the local officials displayed probably an amount of zeal beyond the intentions of the government, but any attempt to oppose the movement was rigorously punished. Of all the various races the Jews were the most severely treated. The great majority of them had long been confined to the western and south-western provinces. In the rest of the country they had not been allowed to reside in the villages, because their habits of keeping vodka-shops and lending money at usurious interest were found to demoralize the peasantry, and even in the towns their numbers and occupations had been restricted by the authorities. But, partly from the usual laxity of the administration and partly from the readiness of the Jews to conciliate the needy officials, the rules had been by no means strictly applied. As soon as this fact became known to Alexander III. he ordered the rules to be strictly carried out, without considering what an enormous amount of hardship and suffering such an order entailed. He also caused new rules to be enacted by which his Jewish subjects were heavily handicapped in education and professional advancement. In short, complete Russification of all non-Russian populations and institutions was the chief aim of the government in home affairs.

In the foreign policy of the empire Alexander III. likewise introduced considerable changes. During his father's reign its main objects were: in the west, the maintenance of the alliance with Germany; in south-eastern Europe, the recovery of what had been lost by the Crimean War, the gradual weakening of the Sultan's authority, and the increase of Russian influence among the minor Slav nationalities; in Asia, the gradual but cautious expansion of Russian domination. In the reign of Alexander III. the first of these objects was abandoned. Already, before his accession, the bonds of friendship which united Russia to Germany had been weakened by the action of Bismarck in giving to the cabinet of Petrograd at the Berlin congress less diplomatic support than was expected, and by the Austro-German treaty of alliance (October 1879), concluded avowedly for the purpose of opposing Russian aggression; but the old relations were partly re-established by secret negotiations in 1880, by a meeting of the young tsar and the old emperor at Danzig in 1881, and by the meeting of the three emperors at Skierniewice in 1884, by which the Three Emperors' League was reconstituted for a term of three years. Gradually, however, a great change took place in the tsar's views with regard to the German alliance. He suspected Bismarck of harbouring hostile designs against Russia, and he came to recognize that the permanent weakening of France was not in accordance with Russian political interests. He determined, therefore, to oppose any further disturbance of the balance of power in favour of Germany, and when the treaty of Skierniewice expired in 1887 he declined to renew it. From that time Russia gravitated slowly towards an alliance with France, and sought to create a counterpoise against the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria and Italy. The tsar was reluctant to bind himself by a formal treaty, because the French government did not offer the requisite guarantees of stability, and because he feared that it might be induced, by the prospect of Russian support, to assume an aggressive attitude towards Germany. He recognized, however, that in the event of a great European war the two nations would in all probability be found fighting on the same side, and that if they made no preparations for concerted military action they would be placed at a grave disadvantage in comparison with their opponents of the Triple Alliance, who were believed to have already worked out an elaborate plan of campaign. In view of this contingency the Russian and French military authorities studied the military questions in common, and the result of their labours was the preparation of a military convention, which was finally ratified in 1894. During this period the relations between the two governments and the two countries became much more cordial. In the summer of 1891 the visit to Kronstadt of a French squadron under Admiral Gervais was made the occasion for an enthusiastic demonstration in favour of a Franco-Russian alliance; and two years later (October 1893) a still more enthusiastic reception was given to the Russian Admiral Avelan and his officers when they visited Toulon and Paris. But it was not till after the death of Alexander III. that the word "alliance" was used publicly by official personages. In 1895 the term was first publicly employed by M. Ribot, then president of the council, in the Chamber of Deputies,

but the expressions he used were so vague that they did not entirely remove the prevailing doubts as to the existence of a formal treaty. Two years later (August 1897), during the official visit of M. Félix Faure to Petrograd, a little more light was thrown on the subject. In the complimentary speeches delivered by the president of the French Republic and the tsar, France and Russia were referred to as allies, and the term " nations alliées " was afterwards repeatedly used on occasions of a similar kind.

In south-eastern Europe Alexander III. adopted an attitude of reserve and expectancy. He greatly increased and strengthened his Black Sea fleet, so as to be ready for any emergency that might arise, and in June 1886, contrary to the declaration made in the Treaty of Berlin (Art. 59), he ordered Batum to be transformed into a fortified naval port, but in the Balkan Peninsula he persistently refrained, under a good deal of provocation, from any intervention that might lead to a European war. The Bulgarian government, first under Prince Alexander and afterwards under the direction of M. Stamboloff, pursued systematically an anti-Russian policy, but the cabinet of Petrograd confined itself officially to breaking off diplomatic relations and making diplomatic protests, and unofficially to giving tacit encouragement to revolutionary agitation.

In Asia, during the reign of Alexander III. the expansion of Russian domination made considerable progress. A few weeks after his accession he sanctioned the annexation of the territory of the Tekke Turkomans, which had been conquered by General Skobelev, and in 1884 he formally annexed the Merv oasis without military operations. He then allowed the military authorities to push forward in the direction of Afghanistan, until in March 1885 an engagement took place between Russian and Afghan forces at Panjdeh. Thereupon the British government, which had been for some time carrying on negotiations with the cabinet of Petrograd for a delimitation of the Russo-Afghan frontier, intervened energetically and prepared for war ; but a compromise was effected, and after more than two years of negotiation a delimitation convention was signed at Petrograd on 20th July 1887. The forward movement of Russia was thus stopped in the direction of Herat, but it continued with great activity farther east in the region of the Pamirs, until another Anglo-Russian convention was signed in 1895. During the whole reign of Alexander III. the increase of territory in Central Asia is calculated by Russian authorities at 429,895 square kilometres.

On 1st November 1894 Alexander III. died, and was succeeded by his son, Nicholas II., who, partly from similarity of character and partly from veneration for his father's memory, continued the existing lines of policy in home and foreign affairs. The expectation entertained in many quarters that great legislative changes would at once be made in a liberal sense was not realized. When an influential deputation from the province of Tver, which had long enjoyed a reputation for liberalism, ventured to hint in a loyal address that the time had come for changes in the existing autocratic régime, they received a reply which showed that the emperor had no intention of making any such changes. Private suggestions in the same sense, offered directly and respectfully, were no better received, and no important changes were made in the legislation of the preceding reign. But a great alteration took place noiselessly in the manner of carrying out the laws and ministerial circulars. Though resembling his father in the main points of his character, the young tsar was of a more humane disposition, and he was much less of a doctrinaire. With his father's aspiration of making Holy Russia a homogeneous empire he thoroughly sympathized in principle, but he disliked the systematic persecution of Jews, heretics and schismatics to which it gave rise, and he let it be understood, without any formal order or proclamation, that the severe measures hitherto employed would not meet with his approval. The officials were not slow to take the hint, and their undue zeal at once disappeared. Nicholas II. showed, however, that his father's policy of Russification was neither to be reversed nor to be abandoned. When an influential deputation was sent from Finland to Petrograd to represent to him respectfully that the officials were infringing the local rights and privileges solemnly accorded at the time of the annexation, it was refused an audience, and the leaders of the movement were informed indirectly that local interests must be subordinated to the general welfare of the empire. In accordance with this declaration, the policy of Russification in Finland was steadily maintained, and caused much disappointment, not only to the Finlanders, but also to the other nationalities who desired the preservation of their ancient rights.

In foreign affairs Nicholas II. likewise continued the policy of his predecessor, with certain modifications suggested by the change of circumstances. He strengthened the cordial understanding with France by a formal agreement, the terms of which were not divulged, but he never encouraged the French government in any aggressive designs, and he maintained friendly relations with Germany. In the Balkan Peninsula a slight change of attitude took place. Alexander III., indignant at what he considered the ingratitude of the Slav nationalities, remained coldly aloof, as far as possible, from all intervention in their affairs. About three months after his death, de Giers, who thoroughly approved of this attitude, died (26th January 1895), and his successor, Prince Lobanov, minister of foreign affairs from 19th March 1895 to 30th August 1896, endeavoured to recover what he considered Russia's legitimate influence in the Slav world. For this purpose Russian

diplomacy became more active in south-eastern Europe. The result was perceived first in Montenegro and Servia, and then in Bulgaria. Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria had long been anxious to legalize his position by a reconciliation, and as soon as he got rid of Stamboloff he made advances to the Russian government. They were well received, and a reconciliation was effected on certain conditions, the first of which was that Prince Ferdinand's eldest son and heir should become a member of the Eastern Orthodox Church. As another means of opposing Western influence in south-eastern Europe, Prince Lobanov inclined to the policy of protecting rather than weakening the Ottoman empire. When the British government seemed disposed to use coercive measures for the protection of the Armenians, he gave it clearly to be understood that any such proceeding would be opposed by Russia. After Prince Lobanov's death and the appointment of Count Muraviev as his successor in January 1897, this tendency of Russian policy became less marked. In April 1897, it is true, when the Greeks provoked a war with Turkey, they received no support from Petrograd, but at the close of the war the tsar showed himself more friendly to them; and afterwards, when it proved extremely difficult to find a suitable person as governor-general of Crete, he recommended the appointment of his cousin, Prince George of Greece—a selection which was pretty sure to accelerate the union of the island with the Hellenic kingdom. How far the recommendation was due to personal feeling, as opposed to political considerations, it is impossible to say.

In Asia, after the accession of Nicholas II., the expansion of Russia, following the line of least resistance and stimulated by the construction of the Trans-Siberian railway, took the direction of northern China and the effete little kingdom of Korea. A great part of the eastern section of the railway was constructed on Chinese territory, and elaborate preparations were made for bringing Manchuria within the sphere of Russian influence. With this view, the cabinet of Petrograd, at the close of the Chino-Japanese War in 1895, objected to all annexations by Japan in that quarter, and insisted on having the treaty of Shimonoseki modified accordingly. Subsequently, by obtaining from the Tsungli-Yaman a long lease of Port Arthur and Talienwan and a concession to unite those ports with the Trans-Siberian by a branch line, she tightened her hold on that portion of the Chinese empire and prepared to complete the work of aggression by so-called "spontaneous infiltration." From Manchuria, it was assumed, the political influence and spontaneous infiltration would naturally spread to Korea, and on the deeply indented coast of the Hermit Kingdom might be constructed new ports and arsenals more spacious and strategically more important than Port Arthur.

This grandiose project was unexpectedly destroyed by the energetic resistance of Japan, who had earmarked the Hermit Kingdom for herself, and who declared plainly that she would never tolerate the exclusive influence of Russia in Manchuria. In vain the Russian diplomatists sought to overcome her opposition by dilatory negotiations, in the firm conviction that a small island kingdom in the Pacific would never have the audacity to attack a power which had conquered and absorbed the whole of Northern Asia. Their calculations proved erroneous. Convinced that the onward march of the Colossus could not be permanently arrested by mere diplomatic conventions, the cabinet of Tokio suddenly broke off diplomatic relations and commenced hostilities (February 8, 1904). For Russia the war proved a series of uninterrupted reverses both on land and on sea, until it was terminated by the treaty of Portsmouth in October 1905.

What contributed powerfully to the conclusion of peace was the fact that the Russian government was hampered by internal troubles. The old liberal movement and the terrorist organizations which had been suppressed by Alexander III. were being resuscitated, and the liberal and revolutionary leaders, taking advantage of the unpopularity of the war, were agitating for the convocation of a Constituent Assembly, which should replace the hated bureaucratic régime by democratic institutions. With great reluctance the tsar consented to convoke a consultative chamber of deputies as a sop to public opinion, but that concession stimulated rather than calmed public opinion, and shortly after the conclusion of peace the Liberals and the Revolutionaries, combining their forces, brought about a general strike in Petrograd together with the stoppage of railway communication all over the empire. Panic-stricken for a moment, the government issued a manifesto proclaiming liberal principles and promising in vague language all manner of political reforms (October 30, 1905), and when the inordinate expectations created by this extraordinary document were not at once realized, preparations were made for overthrowing the existing régime by means of an armed insurrection. Many believed that the end of autocracy had come, and an extemporized Council of Labour Deputies, anxious to play the part of a *Comité de Salut Public*, was ready to take over the supreme power and exercise it in the interests of the proletariat. In reality the revolutionary movement was not so strong and the government not so weak as was generally supposed. Mutinies occurred, it is true, during the next few weeks in Kronstadt and Sevastopol, and in December there was street-fighting for several days in Moscow, but such serious disorders were speedily suppressed, and thereafter the revolutionary manifestations were confined to mass meetings, processions with red flags, attempts on the lives of officials and policemen, robberies under arms and agrarian disturbances.

CHAPTER XVII

DEVELOPMENT OF THE RUSSIAN CONSTITUTION

At the end of 1910 the Russian revolution, which seemed at one time to promise an overturn as complete as that of the *ancien régime* in France, would seem to have entered on a path of orderly and conservative development, and it is possible, now that the smoke of combat has cleared away, to form some estimate of the forces through the interplay of which this result has been achieved. At the outset the superficial resemblance between the revolutionary movement in Russia and that of 1789 in France was striking: there was the same breakdown of the traditional machinery of government, the same general outcry for control by a representative national assembly, the same gradual and reluctant concessions wrung from the crown under pressure of disaffection in the army, popular *émeutes*, the assassination of unpopular officials, and the burning of country houses by organized bands of peasants. Similar, too, was the revelation, when freedom of speech was at last allowed, of the unhappy effect of the long divorce of the intellect of the country from any experience of practical politics. But here the analogy breaks down. France in 1789, though its ancient provincial boundaries survived, had long since been welded into a nation conscious of its common interests; Russia remains a vast empire, composed of the most heterogeneous, sometimes even mutually hostile, elements, whose antagonisms were bound to be an element of weakness in any assembly truly representative of all sections of the people. In France the Revolution had been the work of the middle classes; in Russia an indigenous middle class has, comparatively speaking, no existence, the peasants forming the overwhelming majority of the population.[1] The supreme peril to the autocracy in Russia lay in the genuine grievances of the peasants, less political than economic, which had opened their minds to revolutionary propaganda. These grievances once removed, and their legitimate land-hunger satisfied, the peasants would become a bulwark of the established order, whatever that might be, as had happened in similar circumstances in Austria in 1849. As for the revolutionary "intellectuals," without the lever of agrarian discontent they were practically powerless, the more so as their political activity consisted mainly in "building theories for an imaginary world." The *bourgeois* revolutionists of France had all been *philosophes*, but their philosophy had at least paid lip-service to "reason"; the Russian revolutionists who formed the majority of the first and second Dumas, as though inspired by the exalted nonsense preached by Tolstoi,[2] subordinated reason to sentiment, until—their impracticable temper having been advertised to all the world—it became easy for the government to treat them as a mere excrescence on the national life, a malignant growth to be removed by a necessary operation. In 1909 the number of exiles for political reasons from Russia was reckoned at 180,000; but the third Duma, purged and packed by an ingenious franchise system, was in its third year passing measures of beneficent legislation, in complete harmony with the government. It is proposed to trace briefly the steps by which this result was obtained.

[1] In 1897 only 15% of the population were engaged in commerce or industry, including the work-people. Of the middle class, moreover, a large proportion were Jews and Germans. The peasants numbered 75%.

[2] "Tolstoi observed that that was argument and reason, and that he paid no attention to them; he only guided himself (he said) by sentiment, which he felt sure told him what was good and right!"—Interview with Metchnikoff in Sir Ray Lankester's *Science from an Easy Chair*, p. 43.

In order to explain the course of the revolution which came to a head in 1905 it is necessary to say a few words about constitutional plans and liberal experiments, initiated from above, which had preceded it. Of the ancient *zemski sobor* (assembly of the country) it is unnecessary here to say much, though Nicholas II. was pressed by the more reactionary elements to model his parliament on this rough equivalent of the Western states-general. The *zemski sobor*, which had played a considerable part in the struggle of the tsars against the great boyars in the 17th century, had met but once since the days of Peter the Great.[1] The origin of the present constitution of Russia must be sought, not in this ancient and obsolete institution, but in the artificial constitution elaborated by Mikhail Speranski in 1809 at the instance of the emperor Alexander I. Of Speranski's plan only the establishment of the Imperial Council (January 1st, 1810) was realized in his lifetime.[2] In 1864, however, the emperor Alexander II. carried the scheme a step further by the creation of elected provincial assemblies (*zemstvos*), to which in 1870 elected municipal councils (*dumas*) were added. The opportunity thus given for debate naturally stimulated the movement in favour of constitutional government, which received new impulses from the sympathetic attitude of the emperor Alexander II., his grant in 1879 of a constitution to the liberated principality of Bulgaria, and the multiplication of Nihilist outrages which pointed to the necessity of conciliating Liberal opinion in order to present a united front against revolutionary agitation. In January 1881 Count Loris-Melikov, minister of the interior, proposed to convene a "general commission" to examine legislative proposals before these were laid before the Imperial Council; this commission was to consist of members elected by the *zemstvos* and the larger towns, and others nominated in the provinces having no *zemstvos*. The plan was approved by Alexander II. on the very morning of his assassination (February 17th, 1881), but it was never promulgated. The new tsar, Alexander III., was an apt pupil of his tutor Pobedonostsev, the celebrated procurator of the Holy Synod, for whom the representative system was "a modern lie," and his reign covered a period of frank reaction, during which there was not only no question of granting any fresh liberties but those already conceded (*e.g.* the principle of the separation of the administrative and judicial functions) were largely curtailed. The result of this policy of repression, associated as it was with gross incompetence and corruption in the organs of the administration, was the rapid spread of the revolutionary movement, which gradually permeated the intelligent classes and ultimately affected even the stolid and apparently immovable masses of the peasantry.

The movement came to a head, as a result of the disasters of the war with Japan, in 1904. The assassination of the minister of the interior Plehve, on the 14th of July, by the revolutionist Sazonov was remarkable as a symptom mainly owing to the widespread sympathy of the European press of all shades of opinion with the motives of the assassin. It was clear that the system with which the murdered minister's name had been associated stood all but universally condemned, and in the appointment of the conciliatory Prince Sviatopolk-Mirski as his successor the tsar himself seemed to concede the necessity for a change of policy.[3] In November, with the tacit consent of the police, a private assembly of eminent members of local *zemstvos* and municipal *dumas* was held in Petrograd to discuss the situation. The majority of this decided to approach the crown with a suggestion for a reform of the Russian system on the basis of a national representative assembly, an extension of local self-government, and wider guarantees for individual liberty. The day on which the deputation laid these views before Prince Mirski was hailed by public opinion as recalling the 5th of May 1789, the date of the meeting of the French states-general at Versailles. The emperor, however, whatever his own views, was surrounded by reactionary influences, of which the most powerful were the empress-mother, Pobedonostsev the procurator of the Holy Synod, Count Muraviev and the Grand-duke Sergius. The imperial *ukaz* of the 12th of December enunciating reforms affecting the peasants, workmen and local *zemstvos* failed to satisfy public opinion; for there was no word in it of constitutional government. Petitions continued to flow in to the emperor's cabinet, praying for a national representation, from the *zemstvos*, from the nobles and from the professional classes, and their moral was enforced by general agitation, by partial strikes, and by outrages which culminated at Moscow in the murder of the Grand-duke Sergius (February 4th, 1905). In the imperial counsels the resisting forces still seemed to have the upper hand. Prince Mirski resigned, his resignation being immediately followed by a reactionary imperial manifesto reaffirming the principle of autocracy (February 18th). Bulygin, Mirski's successor, had no knowledge of this until after its publication; he hastened to the tsar and obtained the issue on the same day of a rescript which, while reserving the "fundamental laws of the empire" inviolate, stated the emperor's intention of summoning the representa-

[1] In 1767, when Catherine II.—in a mood of encyclopaedist enlightenment—summoned it. The meeting confined its attention to economic questions, and had no political character whatever.

[2] In his speech at the opening of the first Polish parliament at Warsaw in 1818, Alexander I. publicly announced his intention of granting free institutions to Russia.

[3] Sazonov's sentence of twenty years' hard labour was commuted by Nicholas II. to fourteen years.

tives of the people to aid in "the preparation and examination of legislative proposals." A commission of inquiry, under the emperor's presidency, was now established to elaborate the means for carrying this promise into effect. On the 6th of June, in reply to a deputation of the second congress of *zemstvos* headed by Prince Trubetzkoi, the emperor promised the speedy convocation of a National Assembly. When, however, on the 6th of August, the new law was promulgated, it was found that the "Imperial Duma"[1] was to be no more than a consultative body, charged with the examination of legislative proposals before these came before the Imperial Council, the duty and right of passing them into law being still reserved for the autocrat alone. The members of the Duma, moreover, were placed at the mercy of the government by a clause empowering the Directing Senate to suspend or deprive them. The promulgation of this truncated constitution was greeted by a furious agitation, culminating in September in a general strike, rightly described as the most remarkable political phenomenon of modern times. For days the whole mechanism of civilized existence in Russia was at a standstill, all intercourse with the outside world cut off; until at last the government was forced to yield, and on the 17/30th of October 1905 the tsar issued the famous manifesto promising to Russia a constitution based on the main principles of modern Liberalism: national representation, freedom of conscience and opinion, guarantees for individual liberty.

The enormous programme of constitutional reform foreshadowed in the manifesto had to be elaborated in haste by Count Witte, the minister of the interior, under circumstances by no means promising. The organs of government seemed paralysed by the repudiation of the principle on which their authority was based, and the empire to be in danger of falling into complete anarchy. The revolutionary terrorists took advantage of the situation to multiply outrages; popular agitation was fomented by a multitude of new journals preaching every kind of extravagant doctrine, now that the censor no longer dared to act; in December the trouble culminated in a formidable rising in Moscow. The revolutionary terrorists were countered by the terrorists of the reaction who, under the name of "the Union of the Russian People," began an organized extermination of the elements supposed to be hostile to the traditional régime. The "black band" (*chernaya sotnia*), or "black hundreds," as they were branded by public opinion, directed their attacks especially against the Jews, and *pogroms*,[2] *i.e.* organized wholesale robbery and murder of Jews, occurred in many places, it was believed with the connivance of the police and veiled approval in exalted quarters.

Meanwhile the political parties which were to divide the new Duma had taken shape. Apart from the extremists on one side or the other, frank reactionaries on the Right and Socialists on the Left, two main divisions of opinion revealed themselves in the congresses of the *zemstvos* that met at Moscow in September and November. In the former there had been a fusion between the Radicals, supporters of the autonomy of Poland and a federal constitution for the empire, and the Independence party (*Osvobozhdenya*) formed by political exiles at Paris in 1903, the fusion taking the name of Constitutional Democrats, known (from a word-play on the initials K.D.) as "Cadets." The more moderate elements found a rallying cry in the manifesto of October, took the name of "the Party of 17th October," and became known as "Octobrists." In the *zemstvo* congress of November the "Cadets" protested against the "grant" of a constitution already elaborated, and demanded the convocation of a Constituent Assembly. The Octobrists, on the other hand, supported Count Witte's moderate programme, the most important provisions of which were the extension (December 11, 1905) of the suffrage under the stillborn constitution of August, and (February 20, 1906) the reorganization of the Duma as the Lower House, and of the Imperial Council (half of which was to be elective) as the Upper House in the new parliament.

The elections were held in March 1906, and on the 27th of April the emperor Nicholas II. solemnly opened the first Duma of the Empire. The "Cadets" commanded an overwhelming majority in the Lower House, and their intractable temper and ignorance of affairs became at once apparent. The address in reply to the speech from the throne, voted after a debate in which abstract theories had triumphed over common sense, demanded universal suffrage, the establishment of pure parliamentary government, the abolition of capital punishment, the expropriation of the landlords, a political amnesty, and the suppression of the Imperial Council. When the minister of the interior, M. Goremykin, who had succeeded Witte at the head of the government, met these preposterous demands with a flat refusal, the House voted, on the motion of M. Kuzmin-Karaviev, for an appeal to the people (July 4).[3] Four days later the government dissolved the Duma, M. Goremykin at the same time being replaced by M. Stolypin. The "Cadets" refused to accept this action and, in imitation of the famous meeting in the tennis-court at Versailles, adjourned to Vyborg in Finland,

[1] *Duma* = council, assembly (*dumat*, to think over, reflect upon). The name was first suggested by Speranski, under Alexander I., for the suggested parliament of delegates from the *zemstvos* and local *dumas*.

[2] *Pogrom* = pillage, destruction.

[3] Of this M. Chasles remarks that it would have been a revolutionary act even in republican France.

where, under the ex-president of the Duma, M. Muromtsov, they drew up and issued a manifesto calling on the Russian people to refuse taxes and military service. Its sole result, apart from the punishment which afterwards fell on its authors,[1] was to show how little the majority of the dissolved Duma had represented the Russian people. Isolated mutinies in the army followed, and terrorist outrages here and there—notably, in August, the dastardly bomb outrage in the Isle of Apothecaries at Petrograd, which seriously injured one of M. Stolypin's little daughters; but the mass of the nation and of the army remained wholly unmoved, while the repetition of troubles was made more difficult by the establishment of field courts martial with summary powers.

The second Duma met on the 6th of March 1907. M. Stolypin had not ventured to alter the electoral law without parliamentary consent, but with the aid of a complaisant Senate the provisions of the existing law were interpreted in a restrictive sense for the purpose of influencing the elections. The result was, however, hardly more satisfactory to the government. The "Cadets," it is true, lost many seats both to the Socialists and to the extreme Right, but they held the balance of the House, of which the Octobrists and the Right together only constituted one-fifth, and their leader, M. Golovin, was elected president of the House. The temper of the second Duma was, indeed, even more democratic than that of the first; but M. Stolypin did his best to work in harmony with it, realizing that under the existing law another dissolution could but lead to a like result, and shrinking from the only alternative—an alteration of the law by a *coup d'état*, a course which could only be justified on the plea of extreme necessity. On the 19th of March he laid before the House his programme of reforms, which included the emancipation of the peasants from the control of the communes and the handing over to them of the crown lands and imperial estates. The majority, however, refused to be reconciled. The abolition of the field courts martial was demanded; on the 13th of April a bill for the expropriation of landlords was carried by a two-thirds majority,[2] and the 30th the Army Bill would have been lost but for the Polish vote. The crisis came with the discovery of a treasonable plot for the subornation of the army, in which many Socialist members of the Duma were involved. On the 14th of June Stolypin's proposal for the arrest of 16 members and the indictment of 55 was shelved by being referred to a committee. The excuse for which the government had been waiting was thus provided, and two days later the Duma was dissolved. An imperial *ukaz* fixed the new elections for the 14th of September, and the meeting of the third Duma for the 14th of November; at the same time, in violation of the October manifesto, the electoral law was altered, so as to secure a representation at once more Russian and more conservative. The non-Russian frontier provinces (*okrainas*) had even before been under-represented (one member for every 350,000 inhabitants, as against one for every 250,000 in the central provinces); the members returned by Poland, the Caucasus and Siberia were now reduced from 89 to 39, those from the Central Asian steppes (23) were swept away altogether; the total number of deputies was reduced from 524 to 442. Even more drastic were the changes in the electoral machinery, by far the most complicated in Europe, established by the law of 1905.[3] This was based on the principle of indirect election, through a series of electoral colleges. It was a simple matter to manipulate these so as to throw the effective power into the hands of the propertied classes without ostensibly depriving any one of the vote. The result was that in the third Duma, which met on the 15th of November 1907, the conservative Right preponderated as much as the Left had done in its two predecessors. Its president, M. Khomiakov, had been one of the founders of the "Union of 17th October," but even the Octobrists formed but a third of the House and were compelled to act with the reactionaries of the Right; and the vice-president, Prince Volkonsky, was a member of the Union of the Russian People.

On the whole, the new Duma was fairly representative of the changed temper of the Russian people, disillusioned and weary of anarchy. The government had done wisely in obscuring the passion for democratic ideals by an appeal to Russian chauvinism, an appeal soon to bear fruit in disuniting the revolutionary parties. The congress of *zemstvos*, hitherto the focus of Liberalism, had petitioned the government, before the opening of the third Duma, to take measures for the restoration of order. The authorities began to exhibit something of their old spirit. M. Dubrovin, president of the Union of the Russian People and organizer of *pogroms*, having written a letter of congratulation to the tsar on the occasion of the *coup d'état*, received a gracious reply; the hideous reign of terror of the "Black Hundred" in Odessa did not prevent the Grand-duke Constantine from accepting the badge of membership of the Union. The ordinary laws, too, had been suspended; the fining and confiscation of newspapers had been resumed, and the "Cadets" had been forbidden to hold a congress. All this, however, did not argue an intention on the part of the government to revert to the autocratic *status quo*. M. Stolypin indeed defended the *coup d'état* in the Duma on the ground that the autocrat had merely altered what the autocrat had

[1] They were condemned in 1907 to three months' imprisonment and loss of civil rights.

[2] This was reversed, on the 8th of June, by 238 votes to 191, after a patient exposition by M. Stolypin of the fact that there was plenty of land in Russia for the peasants without any attack on private property.

[3] The electoral law covers 107 octavo pages.

originally granted ; but while laying stress on the necessity for restoring order in the body politic, he announced a long programme of reforms, including agrarian measures, reform of local government and its extension in the frontier provinces, and state insurance of workmen. The most far-reaching of these reforms, carried in the first session of the third Duma, was the partial abolition of the communal and family ownership of land, which involved the establishment of a class of true peasant-proprietors.[1] Besides this, the Duma had passed before its adjournment on the 28th of October 1908 much useful legislation, some 300 bills in all, including two for the building of important railways on the Amur and in Siberia. Nor had it exhibited by any means a wholly docile spirit. On the 7th of June, for instance, M. Guchkov attacked the maladministration in the navy, pointing out that no reforms were possible so long as grand-dukes were at the head of its departments. The Duma endorsed this all but unanimously, and as the result the Grand-dukes Peter and Sergius resigned their posts of inspector-general of Engineers and Ordnance respectively, and the Grand-duke Nicholas his chairmanship of the Committee of National Defence. A year later the Duma again came into collision with the government in a matter highly illuminating of the struggle between the ancient traditions and the new ideas in Russia. On the 14th of June 1909 a bill was passed removing the disabilities hitherto attaching to some 15,000,000 of Old Believers. In spite of strenuous government opposition, inspired by the authorities of the Orthodox Church, amendments were carried allowing dissident ministers to assume ecclesiastical titles and to preach, and permitting Christians to join non-Christian religions or even to describe themselves as unbelievers. Thus a step forward was made in securing the freedom of conscience proclaimed in the October manifesto and denounced by a synod of Orthodox bishops at Kiev in 1908, though the rights granted by the Duma were seriously curtailed in the Imperial Council, and have been largely rendered a dead letter by the action of the administration.

Meanwhile the pan-Russian movement had been gaining apace. At first it had seemed that the new birth of Russia would lead to a revival of pan-Slavism, directed not, as in the middle of the 19th century, against Austria but against Germany. In May 1908 a deputation of the Slav members of the Austrian *Reichsrat* paid a ceremonial visit to the Duma at Petrograd, and in this " neo-Slav " demonstration M. Dmowski, leader of the Polish party in the Duma, took part. In the following year, however, the situation was completely altered, a result due to the growing anti-Polish feeling in the Duma and, more especially, to the support given by the Austrian Slavs to the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This event caused the utmost excitement in Russia ; the crown prince of Servia, who arrived in Petrograd on the 28th of October to ask for the armed assistance of the tsar, was received with enthusiasm by all classes of the people ; and, though armed intervention was impossible, M. Isvolsky took the lead in the abortive demand for a European conference. Neo-Slav dreams were now replaced by a passionate desire to consolidate the Russian empire on a purely Russian basis. Even the remnant of the " Cadets " had by this time renounced their sympathy with Polish aspirations, and in the matter of Finland the Duma proved itself even more imperial than the emperor himself. The Finnish question is dealt with elsewhere. Here it may suffice to mention, as illustrating the changed temper of the Russian national assembly, that the Russian majority of the Duma included among the imperial questions in Finland which the Finnish diet ought to refer to the imperial legislature not only all military matters—as the tsar demanded (Rescript of October 14)—but the question of the use of the Russian language in the grand-duchy, the principles of the Finnish administration, police, justice, education, formation of business companies and of associations, public meetings, the press, the customs tariff, the monetary system, means of communication, and the pilot and lighthouse system. The old tendency illustrated by the outcome of the revolutionary movements of 1848 was once more in evidence—the tendency of merely artificial theories of democratic liberty to succumb to the immemorial instinct of race and race ascendancy.

As an international force Russia had been, of course, all but completely crippled by the outcome of the Japanese War and the subsequent revolution. Her recovery, however, revealed the immense reserves of her strength. On the 30th of July 1907 she signed a convention with Japan of mutual respect for treaty and territorial rights, and guaranteeing the integrity of China. On the 31st of August of the same year the long period of mutual suspicion between Great Britain and Russia was closed by a convention for an amicable settlement of all questions likely to disturb the relations of the two Powers in Asia generally, including the demarcation of Persia into spheres of influence. This new *entente* with Great Britain, cemented by a visit paid by King Edward VII. to the tsar at Reval on the 9th June 1908, helped to knit close once more the loosened alliance with France, and so to preserve the threatened balance of Europe. That in the work of restoring its military position the Russian government had the support of the Russian parliament was proved by a subsidy of £11,000,000 voted by the Duma, on the 30th of December 1909, for the special service of the reorganization and redistribution of the army.

[1] The law establishing individual peasant-proprietorship was passed on December 21st.

CHAPTER XVIII

RECENT EVENTS, 1909–1912

THE three years from 1909 to 1912 in Russia were notable for several important legislative acts and reforms affecting large classes of the population. Much attention was bestowed upon reorganization of peasant administration, peasant justice, land tenure, migration, colonization and labour insurance.

As a matter of important benefit for the great mass of Russian peasantry, the third Duma (which came into being in November 1907) passed a bill in 1910, which ranks next to the one designed to emancipate them from their village communes. This was the reform of local justice to replace the system introduced in 1889 by Count Tolstoy, the famous reactionary minister of Alexander III. According to that system, small cases were tried by *volost* courts, the *volost* being a collective administrative unit comprising many villages and communes. More important cases were dealt with by the *Zemskie Nachalniki* or rural administrators, who combined administrative and judicial functions. These administrators were to be recruited chiefly from amongst the local landed gentry, and in this way Count Tolstoy desired to re-establish the influence of the landlords, which had been lost ever since the peasant reforms of 1861. Tolstoy's measure was most unpopular from the very beginning, and both the volost judges who were elected by the peasants, and the rural administrators appointed by the government, proved themselves incompetent to satisfy modern requirements. As soon as the constitutional régime was introduced the government recognized the urgency of reform in this direction with a view to substituting both volost courts and rural administrators by trained justices of the peace as in the towns. When the bill came before the legislature both houses accepted the abolition of the judicial functions of the rural administrators, but the projected abolition of the volost courts was strongly opposed in the state council, and this gave rise to severe criticism. The bill was finally voted by the council in 1911 with retention of the volost courts under the supervision of local boards of magistrates, constituting in this instance courts of appeal.

One of the most remarkable features of the years 1910 and 1911 was the manifestation of nationalism by the government and the Duma. This showed itself in the carrying through of several bills tending to withstand the centrifugal forces which were at work amongst the foreign and heterodox races under Russian rule, and which the cosmopolitan disposition of former central authorities had allowed to attain dangerous proportions. The work of the government and Duma in this respect surprised those persons who thought the Russification policy of the old bureaucratic régime would disappear with the establishment of representative institutions.

Against these denationalizing forces the government brought forward several bills, such as the introduction of Russian zemstvos or county councils into the six western provinces, the separation of the Holm district from Liublin, and its withdrawal from under Polish law, the purchase of the Warsaw-Vienna railway by the state, and special Russian legislation for Finland. A characteristic in this connection was an order of the minister of ways of communication prohibiting the employment of more than 10 % of men of non-Russian race on the government railways. Bills were also introduced for giving zemstvos to Siberia, the Baltic Provinces and the Don Cossack territory.

The introduction of zemstvos into the western provinces brought on a serious ministerial crisis in 1911. The measure was calculated indirectly to give the Russian peasant element in the provinces in question a preponderance of representation over

the Polish land proprietors, who had hitherto elected only Poles to sit in the state council at Petrograd. With this in view, the new zemstvos were to be elected by separate national curias or colleges. The prime minister, M. Stolypin, explained the measure in a speech to the Duma, and that assembly passed it on 11th of June 1910. Very strong opposition, however, was made to parts of it in the state council, especially to the projected electoral curias, and in March 1911, in spite of Stolypin's appeals for urgency, the upper chamber, after much debating, threw out the bill altogether. A serious political crisis at once ensued. Stolypin tendered his resignation, which the tsar declined to accept. Extraordinary means were then resorted to in order to accomplish the desired end. On the 27th of March an imperial ukaz appeared, which suspended the sittings of both legislative chambers for three days. Besides this, two members of the state council, Durnovo and Trepov, who, it was alleged, had used unfair means to instigate the opposition, were sent into retirement. The government then obtained the issue of another imperial ukaz, whereby the establishment of zemstvos in the six provinces was decreed under article 87 of the fundamental laws, which enables the crown to legislate independently when the two chambers are not in session. The only obligation was to obtain the subsequent consent of the legislature to the accomplished fact, which was not difficult after removal of the most dangerous opponents from the state council. This arbitrary proceeding produced a sharp conflict between the government and the Duma and council as soon as the two houses resumed their sittings. Both chambers for the first time sank their differences and united in vehemently denouncing the illegal action of the government, although the Duma had actually voted for the law in question. As a demonstration, M. Goochkov, the president of the Duma, resigned his post, and was succeeded by M. Rodzianko. All factions in the Duma, except the Nationalists, combined in an effort to overthrow Stolypin, and passed a vote of censure. But the man who had not flinched at his post in 1906 when a bomb exploded in the very midst of his own household was not to be intimidated by the wrath of the Duma, especially now that the emperor's confidence was secured.

The friendliness created between the state council and the Duma by this incident did not last long. In the autumn of 1911 the old friction between them was renewed, and the peasant deputies of the Duma made a pilgrimage to the ministers and other influential personages to complain of the state council's neglect of measures affecting their class in particular. They declared that they could not face their electors " empty handed " when they returned home to their native villages.

Meanwhile the premier Stolypin fell a victim to the perilous double game so often played by members of the Russian Secret Police and their agents among the revolutionary spies. At a gala performance on 14th of September 1911 in the theatre at Kiev, in the presence of the emperor and the imperial family, Stolypin was fatally wounded by two revolver shots fired by a Jew named Mordka Bogrov, who at one and the same time was an agent of the Okhrana, or Secret Political Police, and a member of the party of revolutionary terror. He succumbed to his wounds on 18th of September. This tragic end to the ablest and strongest head of the Russian government since Count Witte had left office produced a great sensation throughout the country and agitated all political parties.

Peter Arcadevich Stolypin was born in 1863, the son of a Russian admiral of Sevastopol fame, who had married a Princess Gorchakov, so that on his mother's side he was related to the noble line of the descendants of Rurik. Having finished his education at the University of Petrograd, he entered the government service in 1884, first in the ministry for internal affairs and then in the department of agriculture. He was appointed governor of Grodno in 1902, and of Saratov in 1905, where he became known as a firm administrator. He was called from the governorship of Saratov in April 1906 to be minister of internal affairs, and in July succeeded M. Goremykin as minister president. He quickly proved himself a capable and wise statesman of strong character and convictions, a good orator with a clear and concise style, an indefatigable worker, and able to give unity and prestige to the ministerial council over which he presided. He at first co-operated with the Octobrists and the Duma, and knew how to make use of the latter for the realization of his programme of national legislation. It was said that the Duma determined the character of Stolypin, while Stolypin to a great extent determined the character of the Duma. Certainly the third Duma, convoked under the operation of Stolypin's modified electoral law and influenced by his able speeches, turned out incomparably more workable and practically useful than either of its two predecessors. His motto was reform and order. To those who objected to the arbitrary and autocratic tendencies of his policy his answer was that until new and better laws were introduced the old and defective ones, which often produced harm as well as good, would be strictly enforced. Amongst the important agrarian reforms which he promoted was the abolition of the tyrannical hold of the antiquated and fast-decaying communal system over the Russian peasantry. In a few years' time the inhabitants of Petrograd will have reason to bless Stolypin's memory on account of his scheme of compulsory sanitation and drainage, which the municipal Duma of the Russian capital, after long years of culpable neglect, will now be bound to carry out. He resisted everything tending towards compromise with sedition in any form, and maintained the extraordinary and extra-judicial measures of public security and the operation of courts-martial in the

face of much opposition. He was the terror of the Finns and the socialist revolutionaries. The latter regarded him as their deadliest enemy, and no less than seven plots and attempts against his life were organized, from August 1906, when a bomb was exploded in his summer villa with terrible consequences to his family and visitors, down to the attack at Kiev, which unhappily proved fatal.

The death of Stolypin induced the radical opposition to entertain hopes of a change of policy under his successor, but M. Kokovtsov,[1] the new president of the council of ministers, very soon dispelled that illusion. In his first speech to the Duma in this new capacity he laid much stress upon the fact that there would be no political change whatever, and this declaration, combined with the impression produced by the fact of the assassin of Stolypin having been a Jew, gave a fresh stimulus to the Nationalist cause and gained for it the full support of the Octobrists. At a great banquet on 17th of October in memory of the October Manifesto, the Octobrists and Nationalists, under Goochkov and Balashov respectively, joined their forces to pass a whole series of bills initiated by Stolypin. These included the law of equal rights for Russians in Finland, a money contribution from the Finnish to the Russian exchequer in lieu of personal military service, the separation of the Holm district from Polish control, and the introduction of municipal administration into Polish towns, which was a sop to the Poles after foisting upon them the zemstvo scheme.

The antagonism between Russia and Finland was reaccentuated by the necessity of enforcing the law of equal rights. In 1910 the Finnish Diet, after three dissolutions for refusing to entertain the subject of Russian imperial legislation, continued to pursue a provocative policy. In 1911 the claims of Russian subjects in Finland to be allowed to benefit by the aforesaid law and the absolute refusal of the Finnish local authorities to admit its validity, or to grant any rights under it, very much aggravated the bad feeling between the two peoples, and matters were made still worse by the Finnish courts not rendering any assistance to the Russian judicial officers sent into Finland to prosecute the passive resisters. Finally several members of the magistracy of Viborg, Abo and other Finnish towns were arrested and conveyed to Petrograd amidst demonstrations of sympathy from their countrymen, to be tried in the Russian law courts. In February 1912 an imperial decree ordered the pilot and lighthouse services of Finland to be placed under the Russian ministry of marine, which further embittered Russo-Finnish relations.

The majority of the third Duma took advantage of every possible opportunity to urge the necessity of extending national education. A distinct attitude of opposition was assumed towards M. Schwartz, minister of public instruction, who had the reputation of a reactionary. His successor, M. Kasso (appointed in 1910), was severely censured for his dismissal of a number of professors of the university at Moscow for offering resistance to his measures limiting the independence of university autonomy. The Duma voted a broad scheme of school development which was calculated to establish general elementary instruction throughout the country in about ten years, but this was materially modified by the state council, which came into acute conflict with the Duma on the question of lay and clerical influence over the proposed schools. The Duma refused to vote money for the latter. When the emperor last received the members, before the final dissolution of the third Duma, his majesty remarked, in his farewell speech, that he expected the Duma to vote the necessary funds for the schools in question. On the last day of the session, in order to avoid a vote uncomplimentary to the emperor, the majority took care to be absent when the question was brought up for discussion, and failing the requisite number of members the bill could not be discussed. This difficulty, however, was easily surmounted, as in the case of the council's refusal to introduce zemstvos into the six western provinces, that is to say, by again bringing into operation the famous article No. 87 of the fundamental laws and providing the necessary funds by the issue of an imperial ukaz.

It may be mentioned here that the money devoted to elementary education was increased from 23½ million to 72 million roubles in 1912.

The work of the third Duma in connexion with the budget is considered by all parties as most effective and praiseworthy. Such a result is largely due to the president of the Budget Commission, M. Alexeinko, formerly professor at the University of Kharkov. In five years the state revenue increased by £45,773,200 (1908, £268,908,500; 1912, £397,640,000). The principal source of this increase is the revenue from railways,[2] which

[1] Vladimir Nikolaievich Kokovtsov was born in 1847. After serving in the prison administration, and then as secretary to the imperial council, he became assistant minister of finance under Witte in 1901. In 1904 he was appointed minister of finance, and he retained this office as prime minister, M. Makarov being appointed minister of internal affairs. In December 1912 the latter made way for M. Maklakov.

[2] It may be noted that on 23rd of January 1911 the council of ministers sanctioned the formation of a Société d'Études for surveying the route for the projected Great Indian railway, which is to join the railway systems of Russia and India. The total length of all Russian railways opened for permanent traffic in January 1912 is officially given as 69,332 versts, or 46,221 m. During 1911 new lines were opened for regular traffic over 957 m. and for temporary traffic over 950 m.; new second tracks were laid down over 137 m.; new lines were under construction for 3967 m. and new lines were projected for 1654 m.

have produced more receipts for the period mentioned by nearly £20,000,000. It is worthy of note that whereas before 1907 Russian railways always showed a considerable deficit for the Exchequer, the last two budgets of the third Duma were closed with a large net profit of some £16,000,000. During the first two years of the third Duma the latter constantly urged economy and better management of railways, while it recommended the kind of measures most likely to conduce to those ends. On one occasion it took the unusual course of reducing the estimates of the railway department by 1 rouble in order to mark its disapproval of the government policy in that respect. The credits for education rank first in the relative figures of increased state expenditure. These have been nearly quadrupled since 1907, before which year they amounted to about 43,000,000 roubles; in 1912 they came to close upon 170,000,000 roubles. Next in importance are the assignments in connexion with migration to Siberia and agricultural assistance and improvement. The money for these " pet children " of the third Duma, as the president of the Budget Commission called them, has been increased by about 78,000,000 roubles (from 40,000,000 roubles before 1907 to 118,000,000 roubles in 1912).

The estimates for the budget of 1913, subject to the scrutiny of the Duma, were balanced at the colossal sum of 3,208,496,961 roubles, and their chief characteristic is an enormous increase of revenue and expenditure, the latter extending to all branches of the government, and amounting to 335 million roubles more than the expenditure of 1912, whilst the anticipated revenue is 277 million roubles more than that of 1912. Consequently the expenditure for 1913 is calculated to exceed the growth of revenue by 78 million roubles.

The attention of the third Duma was much occupied by questions of national defence. Its unrelenting hostility to the ministry of marine and persistent refusal to grant more money led to administrative change and revision in that department (Vice-Admiral Grigorovich becoming minister in 1911), after which more credit was duly voted. In 1907 the Admiralty estimates amounted to 87,000,000 roubles; in its last budget the third Duma provided 230,000,000 roubles for the national navy. Relations with the ministry of war (to which General Sukhomlinov was appointed in 1909) were less strained, and although that ministry was invariably criticized, more especially the commissariat department, the third Duma was induced to satisfy all requirements of the army to the extent of 545,000,000 roubles in 1913, or 150,000,000 roubles more than in 1907.

Russia's finances have never before been in such a flourishing condition as they were at the end of 1912. The free resources of the Treasury had attained to the unprecedented sum of 800,000,000 roubles, and the gold reserve of the state bank, the largest reserve of any bank in the world, was close upon 1 milliard 572 million roubles. These brilliant results were due to two splendid harvests and an unexampled development of trade and industry. As a matter of fact, in the course of two years only, from 1910 to 1912, there was an increase of industrial employment for over 300,000 more workmen.

The ministry of commerce and industry reports that during the first nine months of 1911 there were 295 labour strikes on economic grounds, in which 78,000 workmen took part, and which entailed the loss of 540,000 working days. The greatest number of these strikes was amongst workmen in the textile industries, namely, 119, or 40 %, and the number of men involved was greater than in any other industry. The industries producing metal goods were accountable for 34 strikes, those dealing with animal products for 27, and those for the mechanical treatment of wood for 24 strikes. The most serious strike took place in March 1912 at the mines of the Lena Goldfields Company in Siberia, and resulted in a wholesale massacre of workmen, hundreds of whom were shot down mercilessly by the troops. Discontent with the management of the mines was the only cause of the disturbance. It roused general public indignation, and the emperor sent a trusted senator to make a special investigation and prosecute the parties responsible for so much loss of life.

The prosperity of Russia, which is in the main an agricultural country, is almost entirely dependent upon good harvest results. The harvest of 1911 was much inferior to that of 1910, which was very nearly as good as the abundant harvest of 1909 in quantity, though not in quality, owing to unfavourable weather. There was a dearth in 1911 in fourteen provinces and three territories, which necessitated the adoption of measures of relief for the peasantry in the famine-stricken districts, such as the sale of corn and seed at cost price, loans, reduction of railway rates for transportation and so forth. The harvest of 1912 was considered on the whole to be good, but rather unusual meteorological conditions during the latter part of the year probably marred the expected results. This was certainly the case with the harvest of beetroot for sugar-making. There was even an alarm raised in the press as to the possibility of a sugar famine and the advisability of importing foreign sugar.

For the purpose of establishing more security in kind for advances made on corn by the government, private banks and railway companies, it was decided in 1912 to erect 178 large granaries at railway stations and wharves with an aggregate capacity of one million tons.

The employment of improved agricultural machinery and implements is spreading every year. The total value of such machinery acquired in 1910 was estimated at about £9,200,000 as against £8,500,000 in 1909.

The Russian grain export trade suffered considerably in 1911–12 from the temporary closing of the Dardanelles in consequence of the Turco-Italian and Balkan Wars.

The realization of the great agrarian reforms under the ukaz of November 1906, which emancipated the peasantry from the thraldom of their communes, has been energetically pursued. The number of peasant householders applying for personal tenure from the beginning of this reorganization of the land down till June 1911 was 2,160,867, while 1,531,620 had finally left their communes. Besides this, there was a growing tendency for whole communes to have their land distributed into separate allotments and farms, thus enabling the members to adopt individual tenure without direct application. By the law of 14th of June 1910, communes in which there has not been any general redistribution since the first allotment are considered to have passed over to hereditary tenure. On 1st of January 1911 the number of such communes amounted to 116,043, with 3,489,898 householders, representing allotments aggregating about 77 million acres.

The purchase price of state land sold to the peasants during 1907–10 was 28,096,973 roubles, most of which is to be paid off by instalments spread over 55½ years.

Another Russian movement of British origin in these years was the emulation of General Baden Powell's system of Boy Scouts; but owing to the peculiarities of Russian conditions the scouts in Russia have become *potieshniki*, play soldiers, or boys playing at soldiers, and are organized and drilled accordingly.

One of the last measures passed by the third Duma was for a comprehensive system of Labour Insurance, which was introduced into the Lower House in June 1908. It applies to over 3,000,000 workmen employed in works, factories, mines, river transport, railways and tramways. Insurance in case of accident is provided for on the Austrian system by territorial mutual societies with capital supplied exclusively by employers, and managed by them under government control. A second bill was passed for insurance in cases of temporary sickness to be undertaken by societies similar to the German *Krankenkassen*, the necessary funds in this instance being supplied in the proportions of three-fifths by the workmen and two-fifths by the employers. Sick pay is to be granted for periods not exceeding 26 weeks in one year. Considerable opposition was offered to the part of the scheme which provides for medical aid at the expense of employers, but finally, after much discussion in both houses, the bill was made law.

The third Duma, which was the first really working Duma, completed its five years' term in 1912, and an Imperial ukaz summoned the fourth Duma, elections being held in the late autumn. In these there is no doubt that the government exercised considerable pressure through M. Sabler, the procurator of the Holy Synod, on the clerical vote, and through the Zemskie Nachalniki and other local authorities on the peasant vote, also in the matter of distribution of electoral boroughs, arbitrary removal of undesirable voters, and so forth. The result was, however, unsatisfactory for the government after all its efforts, for its campaign having been apparently directed against the Octobrists, the Opposition came in stronger than ever, and the Octobrists, although they lost Goochkov and other good men, practically lost only ten seats. It seemed likely to be very difficult to arrange for a working majority in the fourth Duma. The returns in November 1912 showed its constitution to be as follows: United Right, 229, various parties of the Left, 109; Ministerial Centre, 80; "Aliens" or Autonomists, 17; miscellaneous, 15. Of the whole 440 members of the Duma only 7 or 8 were members of the first Duma (1906), and of the new party of the Right 45 were priests of the Orthodox clergy, 2 being bishops, the outlook being unpromising for any but reactionary legislation.

In foreign affairs Russian diplomacy has played an active and pacific part, without, however, exhibiting enough energetic initiative and success to win popularity at home The former minister for foreign affairs, Izvolsky, who in 1910 was transferred to Paris as Russian ambassador, was severely criticized in the Russian press for not preventing the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and his successor M. Sazonov (who in 1912 paid important visits to Paris, London and Berlin) has been criticized at home with equal, if not greater severity, for nearly everything he has done or not done. It was laid to his charge that he neglected to avail himself of the opportunity of the Turco-Italian War to insist upon the Turkish troops withdrawing from the Persian district of Urmia. After the Potsdam interview in 1912 between the German emperor and the tsar, accompanied by their respective ministers, M. Sazonov was sharply criticized for the resultant agreement, whereby Germany received several substantial advantages in return for merely promising not to interfere in Russia's political relations with Persia. Germany, in fact, was given the possibility of accelerating the construction of the Bagdad railway, and Russia undertook to solicit a concession from Persia for a railway from Khamikan, the last station of the German line on the Turco-Persian frontier, to Teheran, thus facilitating the competition of German goods with those of Russia in the markets of northern Persia. Although Russia continued to proclaim the principle of non-interference in Persian affairs, a Russian Consular officer was insulted by Persian gendarmes, and an ultimatum had to be sent to Teheran and more Russian troops entered the country. English and Russian co-operation at Teheran was severely tried by the reign of Persian anarchy, but good relations were maintained between the governments. Russia again had trouble with China as to revision of

the treaty of 1881, and towards the end of 1912 concerning the independence of northern Mongolia. After much hesitation and refusing to accede to Mongolian solicitations for protection against China, Russia concluded a convention with the new Mongolian government at Urga, recognizing the autonomy of that region without impugning the sovereignty of the Chinese over their former province. This gave rise to much ill-feeling against Russia in China. The explanation was that Russia was obliged to establish direct relations with northern Mongolia in order to secure the treaty rights for her merchants which China had not yet agreed to renew. In 1911 all outstanding accounts were finally settled with Japan, and Russia received back her hospital ship which had been captured during the war. In the Moroccan crisis of 1911, between Germany and France, the attitude of England in support of France was undoubtedly assisted by Russia making it plainly understood that the Franco-Russian alliance was still in full force, and especially by the order to refund to Russian banks, out of the Russian Exchequer deposit in Germany, all sums of money demanded of them from that country. Meanwhile difficulties have arisen between Russia and the United States. In December 1911 President Taft declared his intention to abrogate the treaty with Russia of 1832, and the announcement gave great umbrage in Russia, where it was at once understood as a retaliation for Russia's refusal to abolish her restrictions against foreign Jews and American Jews in particular. For some time the situation appeared to threaten a tariff war between the two nations.

In the beginning of 1912 Anglo-Russian sympathies were very considerably strengthened by the visit of a British delegation to Russia, composed of representatives of both houses of parliament, the army, navy, press and commerce. They were received by the emperor and overwhelmed with traditional Russian hospitality at Petrograd and Moscow. A British squadron of three ships under the command of Admiral Warrender visited Revel for three days at the beginning of October 1912.

In September 1912 the centennial jubilee of Napoleon's retreat from Moscow was celebrated with much military and religious ceremony in all the chief cities and towns of the Russian empire, especially on the field of Borodino, where the tsar reviewed a large number of troops. A distinguished French deputation also attended at Borodino and placed wreaths at the foot of both monuments erected to the Russian and French soldiers respectively who fell here in 1812. Special patriotic performances were given at most Russian theatres, representing Kutuzov's pursuit of the defeated French army.

In October 1912 great distress was caused in the Russian royal family by the serious illness of the tsar Nicholas's only son, the grand-duke Alexis (b. 1904). All sorts of wild rumours were current, that he had been the victim of a bomb outrage, that he had been mutilated by his nurse and so forth. All that was definitely known was that he was very ill, and in a critical state, but his condition improved early in November. It was officially stated on 3rd of November that the child had injured himself in jumping into a boat, and that an internal effusion of blood had been set up, causing great anaemia "which will require a long period of recuperation and may possibly for a long time render difficult the free use of the legs." The question of the succession to the throne came under discussion in connection with this unhappy event, and on 11th of December it was reported that the grand-duke Dmitri (b. 1891), son of the tsar's uncle, the grand-duke Paul, would be made heir-designate.

THE BALKAN STATES

I. ALBANIA

CHAPTER I

PHYSICAL FEATURES AND PRODUCTS

ALBANIA, a portion of the Turkish empire extending along the western littoral of the Balkan Peninsula from the southern frontier of Montenegro to the northern confines of Greece, is perhaps the least-known region in Europe; and though more than a hundred years have passed since Gibbon described it as "a country within sight of Italy, which is less known than the interior of America," but little progress has yet been made towards a scientific knowledge of this interesting land and its inhabitants. The wild and inaccessible character of the country, the fierce and lawless disposition of the people, the difficulties presented by their language and their complex social institutions, and the inability of the Turkish authorities to afford a safe conduct in the remoter districts, combine to render Albania almost unknown to the foreign traveller, and many of its geographical problems still remain unsolved. A portion of the Mirdite region, the Mat district, the neighbourhood of Dibra, Jakova and Ipek and other localities have never been thoroughly explored. The northern boundary of Albania underwent some alteration in consequence of the enlargement of Montenegro, sanctioned by the Berlin Treaty (July 13, 1878); owing to subsequent arrangements providing for the cession of Dulcigno to Montenegro (November 25, 1880) in exchange for the districts of Plava and Gusinye, restored to Turkey, the frontier-line (finally settled December 1884) now ascends the Boyana from its mouth to Lake Sass (Shas), thence passes northward, and crossing Lake Scutari separates the district of Kutch Kraïna on the N. from the territories of the Gruda, Hot and Klement tribes on the S.; leaving Gusinye and Plava to the S.E., it turns to the N.W. on reaching the Mokra Planina, and then follows the course of the Tara river. On the S., Albanian territory was curtailed owing to the acquisition of the Arta district by Greece (May 1881), the river Arta now forming the frontier. On the E. the chains of Shar, Grammos and Pindus constitute a kind of natural boundary, which does not, however, coincide with ethnical limits nor with the Turkish administrative divisions. North-eastern Albania forms part of the Turkish vilayet of Kossovo; the northern highlands are included in the vilayet of Shkodra (Scutari), the eastern portion of central Albania belongs to the vilayet of Monastir, and the southern districts are comprised in the vilayet of Iannina. The boundaries of the three last-named vilayets meet near Elbassan. The name Albania (in the Tosk dialect *Arberia*, in the Gheg *Arbenia*), like Albania in the Caucasus, Armenia, Albany in Britain, and Auvergne (*Arvenia*) in France, is probably connected with the root *alb*, *alp*, and signifies "the white or snowy uplands."

Physical Features.—The mountain system is extremely complex, especially that of the northern region. On the E. the great Shar range, extending in a south-westerly direction from the neighbourhood of Prishtina to that of Dibra, is continued towards the S. by the ranges of Grammos and Pindus; the entire chain, a prolongation of the Alpine systems of Bosnia and Dalmatia, may be described as the backbone of the peninsula; it forms the watershed between the Aegean and the Adriatic, and culminates in the lofty peak of Liubotrn, near Kallkandele, one of the highest summits

in south-eastern Europe (8858 ft.). The country to the west of this natural barrier may be divided geographically into three districts—northern, central and southern Albania. The river Shkumb separates the northern from the central district, the Viossa the central from the southern. The highland region of northern Albania is divided into two portions by the lower course of the Drin; the mountains of the northern portion, the Bieska Malziis, extend in a confused and broken series of ridges from Scutari to the valleys of the Ibar and White Drin; they comprise the rocky group of the Prokletia, or Accursed Mountains, with their numerous ramifications, including Mount Velechik, inhabited by the Kastrat and Shkrel tribes, Bukovik by the Hot, Golesh by the Klement, Skulsen (7533 ft.), Baba Vrkh (about 7306 ft.), Maranay near Scutari, and the Bastrik range to the east. South of the Drin is another complex mountain system, including the highlands inhabited by the Mirdites and the Mat tribe; among the principal summits are Deia Mazzuklit, Mal-i Vels, Kraba, Toli and Mnela. Central Albania differs from the northern and southern regions in the more undulating and less rugged character of its surface; it contains considerable lowland tracts, such as the wide and fertile plain of Musseki, traversed by the river Simen. The principal summit is Tomor (7916 ft.), overhanging the town of Berat. Southern Albania, again, is almost wholly mountainous, with the exception of the plains of Iannina and Arta; the most noteworthy feature is the rugged range of the Tchika, or Khimara mountains, which skirt the sea-coast from south-west to north-east, terminating in the lofty promontory of Glossa (ancient *Acroceraunia*). Farther inland the Mishkeli range to the north-east of Lake Iannina and the Nemertzika mountains run in a parallel direction. In the extreme south, beyond the basin of the Kalamas, the mountains of Suli and Olyzika form a separate group. The rivers, as a rule flow from east to west; owing to the rapidity of their descent none are navigable except the Boyana and Arta in their lower courses. The principal rivers are the Boyana, issuing from Lake Scutari, and consequently regarded as a continuation of the Montenegrin Moratcha, the Drin, formed by the confluence of the White and Black Drin, which, flowing respectively to the south and north through a long valley at the foot of the Shar range, take a westerly direction after their junction, the Matia, the Arzen, the Shkumb (ancient *Genusos*), the Simen (*Apsos*), formed by the junction of the Devol and Ergene, the Viossa (*Aöus*), which owing to the trend of the Khimara range takes a north-westerly direction, the Kalamas (*Thyamis*) and the Arta (*Arachthos*), flowing south into the Ambracian Gulf. A portion of the stream of the Drin has found its way into the Boyana channel; the result has been a rise in the level of Lake Scutari and the inundation of the adjacent lowlands. A proposal to confine the Drin to its former course by means of a dyke, and to ease the downflow of the Boyana by a canal opening navigation to Lake Scutari, has long been considered by the Turkish authorities. The great lakes of Scutari (135 sq. m.) and Ochrida (107 sq. m.) are among the most beautiful in Europe; the waters of Ochrida, which find an outlet in the Black Drin, are of marvellous clearness. Lake Malik, south by east of Ochrida, is drained by the Devol. The waters of the picturesque Lake Iannina (24 sq. m.) find an issue by *katabothra*, or underground channels, into the Ambracian Gulf. The lake of Butrinto (Buthrotum) is near the sea-coast opposite Corfu.

Climate.—The climate is healthy in the uplands, though subject to violent changes; in the valleys fever is very prevalent, especially in the basins of the Boyana, the lower Drin and the Simen. The winter is short, but exceedingly cold; snow remains on the Prokletia and other mountains till August, and sometimes throughout the year. The summer temperature in the plains is that of southern Italy; in the mountain districts it is high during the day, but falls almost to freezing-point at night. The sea-coast is exposed to the fierce *bora*, or north wind, during the spring.

Natural Products.—The mountains of Albania are said to be rich in minerals, but this source of wealth remains practically unexplored. Iron and coal are probably abundant, and silver-lead, copper and antimony are believed to exist. Gold mines were worked in antiquity in the Drin valley, and silver mines in the Mirdite region were known to the Venetians in the middle ages. At Selinitza, near Avlona, there is a remarkable deposit of mineral pitch which was extensively worked in Roman times; mining operations are still carried on here, but in a somewhat primitive fashion. The splendid forests, of which there are 70,000 acres in the vilayet of Scutari alone, are undergoing a rapid process of destruction, as in other lands under Turkish rule. The principal trees are the oak, the valonia oak, the beech, ash, elm, plane, celtis, poplar and walnut, which give way in the higher regions to the pine and fir. The oak forests near Dibra, where charcoal-making is a considerable industry, and the beech-woods of the Prishtina district, are especially remarkable. The sumach is largely grown in the Mirdite district; its leaves are exported to Trieste for use in tanneries and dyeworks. In 1898 the export of valonia was estimated at £11,200, of sumach at £2400. Of fruit-trees the white mulberry, cherry and wild pear are plentiful; the chestnut and walnut are sometimes met with, and the olive is grown in the lowland and maritime districts. The exportation of olive oil in 1898 was valued at £24,000. The greater part of the country is admirably suited to viticulture, and wine of tolerable quality is produced. Tobacco is grown extensively in southern Albania, especially near Berat and in the upper valley of the Viossa, but the quantity exported is small. The means

of subsistence are mainly provided by the cultivation of grain and cattle-rearing. Notwithstanding the primitive condition of agriculture, the deficiency of communications and the damage caused by frequent inundations, Albania furnishes almost the entire corn supply of the Dalmatian coast and islands. Maize is the favourite grain for home consumption, but considerable quantities of this cereal, as well as barley, rye and oats are exported. The total export of cereals in 1898 was valued at £70,800. Sheep and goats form almost the only wealth of the mountaineers of northern Albania; large cattle are found only on the plains. The slopes of Pindus afford excellent pasture for the flocks of the Vlach shepherds. The export of raw hides and wool is considerable; in 1898 these commodities were valued respectively at £90,400 and £24,000. The lakes and rivers of Albania abound in fish. The *scoranze* (Alb. *seraga*), a kind of sardine, is taken in great quantities in Lake Scutari; it is salted and smoked for home consumption and exportation. Sea-fishing is almost wholly neglected. There are salines at Avlona and other places on the coast.

Commerce and Industries.—The exports in 1898 were estimated at £480,000, the imports at £1,360,000, the former comprising agricultural produce, live stock, hides, wool, cheese, eggs, poultry, olive oil, valonia, sumach leaves, timber, skins of wild animals, silk, tobacco and salted fish, the latter manufactured articles, cloth, hardware, furniture, firearms, gunpowder, sugar, coffee, &c. The monopoly of Albanian commerce formerly possessed by Venice has descended to Austria-Hungary; the trade with other countries, except Italy, is inconsiderable. Owing to the poverty of the people, cheap Austrian goods find a readier sale than the more expensive and solid British manufactures. The maritime traffic is largely conducted by the steamers of the subsidized Austrian-Lloyd company, Trieste being the principal commercial centre; the coasting trade is carried on by small Greek and Turkish sailing vessels. The trade of the northern and western districts has to some extent been diverted to Salonica since the opening of the railways from that town to Mitrovitza and Monastir. The development of commerce is retarded by lack of communications; the country possesses no railways and few roads. Several railway lines have been projected, but there is no great probability of their construction under existing political conditions. The Via Egnatia, the great Roman highway to the east, is still used; it runs from Durazzo (*Dyrrhachium*) to Elbassan and Ochrida. Iannina is connected by carriage-roads with Monastir, Agii Saranta and Preveza. As a rule, however, bridle-paths supply the only means of communication. The native industries are inconsiderable, and many of them are in a languishing condition. The manufacture of highly ornate firearms, yataghans and other weapons at Scutari, Jakova and Prizren has declined, owing to the importation of modern rifles and revolvers. Gold and silk embroidery, filigree work, morocco and richly-braided jackets are produced for home use and for sale in Bosnia, Macedonia and Montenegro.

CHAPTER II

POPULATION

Population.—The population of Albania may be estimated at between 1,600,000 and 1,500,000, of whom 1,200,000 or 1,100,000 are Albanians. Of the other races the Slavs (Serbs and Bulgars) are the most numerous, possibly numbering 250,000. Servian settlements exist in various parts of northern Albania; there is a strong Bulgarian colony in the neighbourhood of Dibra and Ochrida; farther south, Mount Zygos and the Pindus range—the "Great Walachia" of the middle ages—are inhabited by Vlachs or Tzintzars, who possibly number 70,000. Some Turkish colonies are also found in the south-eastern districts. There is a considerable Greek-speaking population in Epiros (including many Mahommedan Albanians), which must, however, be distinguished from the genuine Greeks of Iannina, Preveza and the extreme south; these may be estimated at 100,000. The population of the vilayet of Scutari is given as 237,000, that of the vilayet of Iannina as 552,000. The principal towns are Scutari (Albanian *Shkoder*, with the definite article *Shkodr-a*), the capital of the vilayet of that name, pop. 32,000; Prizren, 30,000; Iannina (often incorrectly written *Ioannina*, capital of the southern vilayet, 22,000; Jakova, 12,000; Dibra, 15,000; Prishtina, 11,000; Ipek (Slav. *Petch*), 15,000; Berat, 15,000; Ochrida, 11,000; Tirana, 12,000; Argyrokastro, 11,000; Kortcha (Slav. *Goritza*), 10,000; Elbassan (perhaps ancient *Albanopolis*), 8000; Metzovo, 7500; Preveza, 6500; Avlona, 6000; Durazzo, 5000; Parga, 5000; Butrinto, 2000; and Kroïa, the ancient fortress of Scanderbeg, 5000. All these, except Elbassan, Metzovo and Kroïa, are described in separate articles.

The Albanians are apparently the most ancient race in south-eastern Europe. History and legend afford no record of their arrival in the Balkan Peninsula. They are probably the descendants of the earliest Aryan immigrants, who were represented in historical times by the kindred Illyrians, Macedonians and Epirots; the Macedonians and Epirots are believed by Hahn to have formed the core of the pre-Hellenic Tyrrheno-Pelasgian population which inhabited the southern portion of the peninsula and extended its limits to Thrace and Italy. The Illyrians were also "Pelasgian," but in a wider sense. Of these cognate races, which are described by the Greek writers as barbarous or non-Hellenic, the Illyrians and Epirots, he thinks, were respectively the progenitors of the *Ghegs*, or northern, and the *Tosks*, or southern, Albanians. The Via Egnatia, which Strabo (vii. fragment 3) describes as forming the boundary between the Illyrians and Epirots, practically corresponds with the course of the Shkumb, which now separates the Ghegs and the Tosks. The same geographer (v. 2. 221) states that the Epirots were also called Pelasgians; the Pelasgian Zeus was worshipped at Dodona (Homer, *Il.* xvi. 234), and the neighbourhood of the sanctuary was called Pelasgia (Herodotus ii. 56). The meaning of the term "Pelasgian" is, however, too obscure to furnish a basis for ethnographical speculation; in the time of Herodotus it may have already come to denote a period rather than a race. The name *Tosk* is possibly identical with *Tuscus, Etruscus*, while the form *Tyrrhenus* perhaps survives in Tirana. The large number of Slavonic local names in Albania, even in districts where no trace of a Slavonic population exists, bears witness to the extensive Servian and Bulgarian immigrations in the early middle ages, but the original inhabitants gradually ousted or assimilated the invaders. The determination with which this remarkable race has maintained its mountain stronghold through a long series of ages has hitherto met with scant appreciation in the outside world. While the heroism of

the Montenegrins has been lauded by writers of all countries, the Albanians—if we except Byron's eulogy of the Suliots—still remain unsung. Not less noticeable is the tenacity with which isolated fragments of the nation have preserved their peculiar characteristics, language, customs and traditions. The Albanians in Greece and Italy, though separated for six centuries from the parent stock, have not yet been absorbed by the surrounding populations.

The Albanians, both Ghegs and Tosks, call themselves *Shkŭpetar*, and their land *Shkŭpenia* or *Shkŭperia*, the former being the Gheg, the latter the Tosk form of the word. *Shkŭpetar* has been variously interpreted. According to Hahn it is a participial from *shkyipoij*, "I understand," signifying "he who knows" the native language; others interpret it with less probability as "the rock-dweller," from *shkep*, *shkip*, N. Alb. *shkamp*, "rock." The designations *Arber* (Gr. Ἀρβανίτης, Turk. *Arnaout*), denoting the people, and *Arbenia* or *Arberia*, the land, are also, though less frequently, used by the Albanians. A district near Kroïa is locally known as Arbenia; the Tosk form *Arberia* strictly applies only to the mountain region near Avlona. The region inhabited by a more or less homogeneous Albanian population may be roughly marked out by a line drawn from the Montenegrin frontier at Berane to Mitrovitza and the Servian frontier near Vranya; thence to Usküb, Prilep, Monastir, Florina, Kastoria, Iannina and Parga. These limits, however, are far from including all the members of a widely scattered race. The Albanians in Greece, whose settlements extend over Attica, Boeotia, the district of Corinth and the Argolid peninsula, as well as southern Euboea and the islands of Hydra, Spetzae, Poros and Salamis, descend from Tosk immigrants in the 14th century. They played a brilliant part in the War of Independence (1821–1829), and to-day supply the Greek army with its best soldiers. They were estimated by Leake at 200,000. A large number still speak the Albanian language; many of the older men, and a considerable proportion of the women, even in the neighbourhood of Athens, are ignorant of Greek. The Albanian settlements in southern Italy and Sicily were founded in 1444, 1464 and 1468; minor immigrations followed in the three succeeding centuries. In southern Italy there are 72 Albanian communes, with 154,674 inhabitants; in Sicily 7 communes, with 52,141 inhabitants. The Italian and Sicilian Albanians are of Tosk descent, and many of them still speak a variation of the Tosk dialect. There are also several Albanian settlements in European Turkey and Asia Minor, some founded by military colonists who received grants of land from successive sultans, others owing their origin to enforced migrations after insurrections in Albania. The only genuine division of the Albanian race is that of Ghegs and Tosks; the Liaps, who inhabit the district between the Viossa and the sea, and the Tshăms or Chăms, who occupy the coast-land south of the Kalamas, are subdivisions of the Tosk family. The name Gheg (*Gĕgĕ-a*) is not adopted by the Ghegs themselves, being regarded as a nickname; the designation Tosk (*Toskĕ-a*) is restricted by the Tosks to the inhabitants of a small region north of the lower Viossa (Toskeria).

National Characteristics.—While the other primitive populations of the peninsula were either hellenized or latinized, or subsequently absorbed by the Slavonic immigration, the Albanians to a great extent remained unaffected by foreign influences. Retaining their original language and preserving the customs and institutions of remote antiquity, they present a distinct type, and differ in many essential particulars from the other nations of the peninsula. The Ghegs especially, notwithstanding their fierce and lawless character, their superstition, ignorance and predatory propensities, possess some noteworthy qualities rarely found in eastern Europe: simple, brave, faithful, and sometimes capable of devoted attachment, these wild mountaineers make excellent soldiers and trustworthy retainers; they have long furnished a bodyguard to the sultan and, like the Tosks, are much employed as kavasses and attendants at foreign embassies and consulates in the East. The native disposition of the Tosks has been modified by intercourse with the Greeks and Vlachs; while the Gheg devotes his attention exclusively to fighting, robbery and pastoral pursuits, the Tosk occasionally occupies himself with commercial, industrial or agricultural employments; the Gheg is stern, morose and haughty, the Tosk lively, talkative and affable. The natural antipathy between the two sections of the race, though less evident than in former times, is far from extinct. In all parts of Albania the vendetta (*gyăk*, *jăk*) or blood-feud, the primitive *lex talionis*, is an established usage; the duty of revenge is a sacred tradition handed down to successive generations in the family, the village and the tribe. A single case of homicide often leads to a series of similar crimes or to protracted warfare between neighbouring families and communities; the murderer, as a rule, takes refuge in the mountains from the avenger of blood, or remains for years shut up in his house. It is estimated that in consequence of these feuds scarcely 75 % of the population in certain mountainous districts die a natural death. A truce (*bessa*, literally "faith," "pledge"), either temporary or permanent, is sometimes arranged by mediation, or among the Ghegs, by the intervention of the clergy; a general *bessa* has occasionally been proclaimed by special iradé of the sultan, the restoration of peace being celebrated with elaborate ceremonies. So stringent are the obligations of hospitality that a household is bound to exact reparation for any injury done to a guest as though he were a member of the family. No traveller can venture into the mountain districts without the *bessa* of one of the inhabitants;

once this has been obtained he will be hospitably welcomed. In some districts there is a fixed price of blood ; at Argyrokastro, for instance, the compensation paid by the homicide to the relatives of his victim is 1200 piastres (about £10), at Khimara 2000 piastres ; once the debt has been acquitted amicable relations are restored. Notwithstanding their complete subjection, women are treated with a certain respect, and are often employed as intermediaries in the settlement of feuds ; a woman may traverse a hostile district without fear of injury, and her *bessa* will protect the traveller or the stranger. Women accompany their male relatives to the battlefield for the purpose of tending the wounded and carrying away the dead. The bride brings no dowry to her husband ; she is purchased at a stipulated price, and earnest-money is paid at the betrothal, which usually takes place while the contracting parties are still children. It is customary for young men who are attached to each other to swear eternal brotherhood (compare the Slavonic *pobratimstvo*) ; the contract is regarded as sacred, and no instance has been known of its violation. The costume of the Tosks differs from that of the Ghegs ; its distinctive feature is the white plaited linen fustanella or petticoat, which has been adopted by the Greeks ; the Ghegs wear trews of white or crimson native cloth adorned with black braid, and a short, close-fitting jacket, which in the case of wealthy persons is embellished with gold lace. The fez is worn by both races, and in the northern highlands yataghans and firearms are almost invariably carried. The costume of the Mirdite and Mat tribes is peculiar. It consists of a white felt cap, a long white tunic bound with a red girdle, white linen trousers and opinki, or sandals.

Tribal System.—The tribal organization in northern Albania is an interesting survival of the earliest form of social combination ; it may be compared in many respects with that which existed in the Scottish highlands in the time of the Stuart kings. The practical autonomy which the Gheg mountaineers enjoy has been won by a prolonged and successful resistance to Turkish domination ; as a rule they pay no taxes, they are exempt from the conscription, they know nothing of the Ottoman law, and the few Turkish officials established amongst them possess no real authority. Their only obligation to the Turkish government is to furnish a contingent in time of war ; the only law they recognize is either traditional custom (*adét*) or the unwritten *Kanun-i Leks Dukajinit*, a civil and criminal code, so called from its author, Leka Dukajini, who is supposed to have lived in the 13th or 14th century. The tribe or *mal* (" mountain ") is often composed of several clans (*phis-i, phárea*) or *baryaks* (literally " standards ") each under a chief or *baryaktar* (standard-bearer), who is, strictly speaking, a military leader ; there are in each clan a certain number of elders or voïvodes (Albanian *kru-ye*, pl. *krene-te*) who form a council and, like the baryaktar, hold their office by hereditary right ; they preside over the assemblies of the tribesmen, which exercise the supreme legislative power. The clan is generally subdivided into smaller communities (*mahalé*), each administered by a local notable or *jobar*. The jobars superintend the execution of the laws, collect fines and administer capital punishment ; they are in contact with the *buluk-bashi*, or resident representative of the tribe at Scutari, who forms the only link between the mountaineers and the Turkish government. He communicates to the tribesmen the orders of the vali, which must be framed in accordance with their customs and institutions. The tribes of northern Albania, or Ghegería, may be classified in seven groups as follows :—(1) The Mirdites, who inhabit the alpine region around Orosh to the south-east of Scutari—the most important of all in respect of numbers (about 17,000) and political independence. A Roman Catholic tribe, occupying an inaccessible district, they have hitherto defeated every effort of the Turks to encroach on their autonomy. Their hereditary chiefs, or *capidans*, belong to the family known as *Dera e Jon Markut* (the house of John Marco), which has ruled for 200 years and is supposed to be descended from Scanderbeg. In 1868 the reigning chief, Bib Doda, died, and his son and successor Prenk was detained as a hostage by the Turks. The Mirdites consequently refused to contribute their customary contingent to the Turkish army, and eventually Prenk was restored. His ambiguous conduct, however, led to the despatch of two expeditions against the Mirdites and the devastation of their territory. In 1880 Prenk was kidnapped by the Turkish authorities and exiled to Anatolia ; another member of the ruling family was appointed kaimakam, but the Mirdites refused to obey him, and their district has ever since been in a state of anarchy. No Moslem is allowed to remain in Mirdite territory. (2) The Mi-shkodrak (Upper Scutari) group or confederation, also known as the Malsia-Madhé (Great Highlands), is composed of the Klement, Grud-a, Hot, Kastrat and Shkrel tribes, which occupy the mountainous district north-east of Scutari. Owing to the proximity of the capital this group is comparatively subject to the Turkish power, and pays a small annual tribute ; the chiefs, who assess and collect the tribute, form a kind of administrative council ; the confederation has also an official representative council at Scutari, called the *Jibal*, under the presidency of a *Serkardé* or Moslem official. (3) The Dukajin, whose territory lies between that of the last-named group and the district of Jakova, include the Pulati, Shalla, Shoshi and other tribes ; they are more independent and more savage than the Mi-shkodrak, and have never paid tribute from time immemorial. (4) The Puka group, known as " the Seven Baryaks of Puka," dwell on the south side of the river Drin ; they are nominally administered by a Turkish kaimakam, who is a mere spectator of their

proceedings. (5) The Malsia Jakovs, a group of two Catholic and three Moslem tribes, extend in the direction of Jakova, where they maintain an official representative; they are entirely exempt from taxation. (6, 7) The Malsia-Lezhs, who occupy the Alessio highlands, and the Malsia Krues, who inhabit the region north of Kroïa, live in a state of extreme poverty and pay no tribute; the Malsia Krues are much addicted to brigandage. To these seven groups, which are included under the general appellation of *Malissori*, or "highlanders," may be added the Malsia of Dibra, who extend to the west and north of that town, and form a large separate group; they are notorious for their fierce lawless character, and maintain themselves by plundering the Bulgarian peasants in their neighbourhood. In general the attitude of the Albanians in the north-eastern districts towards the Slavonic peasantry may be compared with that of the Kurds towards the Armenians. In the region east of Kroïa the Mat tribe, which occupies the upper valley of the Matia, presents an entirely different organization; their district is governed by four wealthy families, possessing hereditary rank and influence. Towards the south the tribal organization becomes looser and is gradually supplanted by a kind of feudal system; among the powerful aristocratic houses may be mentioned the Vliores at Avlona, who are stated to own over 150 sq. m. of land, and the Toptans at Tirana. The principal landowners, who reside in fortified houses, are all Moslems; their estates are cultivated on the *métayer* system. Since the time of Ali Pasha, who broke the power of the local chieftains, southern Albania has been subject to the central Turkish power; before that period the mountaineers of Suli and Khimara enjoyed an independence similar to that of the Gheg tribes.

Religions.—The great majority of the Albanians, probably more than three-fifths, are Moslems. The conversion of the Christian population to Islam appears to have taken place during the 16th and 17th centuries. Like the Cretan Moslems and the Bulgarian Pomaks, the Albanian Mahommedans retain many Christian traditions and customs; it is said that many thousands of them secretly adhere to their original faith. In the vilayet of Scutari they form about 55 % of the population; central Albania is almost entirely Moslem; in southern Albania, however, there is a considerable Christian population, whose limits practically coincide with those of the Greek-speaking districts. Of the Christian population (about 600,000), some 110,000 are Roman Catholic Ghegs, some 90,000 are Orthodox Tosks, and some 400,000 are Orthodox Slavs, Greeks and Vlachs. The Roman Catholic Ghegs appear to have abandoned the Eastern for the Western Church in the middle of the 13th century. Their bishops and priests, who wear the moustache in deference to popular prejudice, are typical specimens of the church militant. Some of the Gheg tribes, such as the Puka, Malsia Jakovs and Malsia Krues, are partly Roman Catholic, partly Moslem; among fellow-tribesmen the difference of religion counts for little. The Mirdites are exclusively Roman Catholic, the Mat-i exclusively Moslem. At the head of the Roman Catholic hierarchy are the archbishops of Scutari (with three suffragans), Prizren and Durazzo; the mitred abbot of St Alexander is the spiritual chief of the Mirdites. The Orthodox Church has metropolitans at Prizren, Durazzo, Berat, Iannina and Kortcha; the Bulgarian exarchate maintains a bishop at Dibra. Of the Albanians in Sicily the great majority (44,791) remain faithful to the Greek Church; in Italy 116,482 follow the Latin ritual, and 38,192 the Greek. All the Albanians in Greece belong to the Orthodox Church.

Education.—Education is almost non-existent, and the vast majority of the population, both Christian and Moslem, are totally illiterate. Instruction in the Albanian language is prohibited by the Turkish government for political reasons; a single exception has been made in the case of an American school for girls at Kortcha. There are Turkish primary and secondary schools in some of the towns; in the village mosques instruction in the Koran is given by the *imāms*, but neither reading nor writing is taught. The aristocratic Moslem families send their sons to be educated in Constantinople or Vienna. At Scutari a college and a seminary are maintained by the Jesuits, with the aid of the Austrian government; the Franciscans have several primary schools, and three lay schools are supported by the Italian government; in all these institutions Italian is the language of instruction. There are two Servian seminaries at Prizren. In southern Albania there are Greek schools in the towns and a large Greek gymnasium at Iannina. The priests of the Greek Church, on whom the rural population depend for instruction, are often deplorably ignorant. The merchant families of Iannina are well educated; the dialect spoken in that town is the purest specimen of colloquial Greek.

CHAPTER III

HISTORY

After the division of the Roman empire, the lands inhabited by the Albanian race became provinces of the Byzantine empire; northern Albania from Scutari to Berat formed the *thema* or province of Dyrrachium (*Durazzo*, Albanian *Dourtz*), southern Albania and Epirus the *thema* of Nikopolis. The country was overrun by the Goths in the 4th and 5th centuries, but reconquered by Justinian in 535. In 640 northern Albania was invaded by the Serbo-Croats; it continued with interruptions under Servian rule till 1360. In 861 the Bulgarians conquered the southern portion of the country and Epirus as far as Khimara; under their powerful tsar Simeon (893–927), who defeated the Servians, they established their rule on the Adriatic littoral, except at Durazzo, which remained Byzantine, and colonized these regions in great numbers. A new Bulgarian dynasty, that of Shishman, was founded at Ochrida after the death of Simeon. Shishman's son Samuel (976–1014) captured Durazzo; he extended his sway over a great part of the Balkan Peninsula, but was eventually defeated in 1014 by the emperor Basil II., who put out the eyes of 15,000 Bulgarian prisoners. Southern Albania and Epirus fell once more under Byzantine rule, which, however, was shaken by numerous revolts. In 1081 the Normans under Robert Guiscard possessed themselves of Durazzo; Guiscard's son Bohemund defeated the Greeks in several battles and again (1107) laid siege to Durazzo, which had been surrendered to them by treachery; failing to take the city, he retired to Italy in 1109. Southern Albania and Epirus remained under Byzantine domination till 1204, when, after the capture of Constantinople by the crusaders, Michael Comnenus, a member of the imperial family, withdrew to Epirus and founded an independent sovereignty known as the *Despotate of Epirus* at Iannina; his realm included the whole of southern Albania, Acarnania and Aetolia. The despotate of Epirus was held by the Comnenus family till 1318, and by princes of the house of Orsini till 1358. Meanwhile Durazzo, with Berat and Central Albania, had passed into the hands of the Sicilian kings of the house of Anjou, who ruled these regions, which they styled the "Kingdom of Albania," from 1271 to 1368, maintaining a constant warfare with the Byzantine emperors. The Servians again installed themselves in Upper Albania about 1180, and the provinces of Scutari and Prizren were ruled by kings of the house of Nemanya till 1360; Stefan Dushan (1331–1358), the greatest of these monarchs, included all Albania in his extensive but short-lived empire, and took the title of *Imperator Romaniae Slavoniae et Albaniae* (emperor of the Greeks, Slavs and Albanians).

After the death of Dushan and the break-up of the Servian empire, a new epoch began when Albania fell under the rule of chieftains more or less of native origin. A portion of Upper Albania was ruled by the Balsha dynasty (1366–1421), which, though apparently Servian by descent, assimilated itself with its Albanian subjects and embraced the faith of Rome. Alessio and a tract of the interior in the direction of Ipek was governed by the Dukajin. The northern portion of the "kingdom of Albania," including Durazzo and Kroïa, was ruled by the family of Thopia (1359–1392) and afterwards by that of Kastriota, to which Scanderbeg belonged; the southern portion with Berat, by the Musaki (1368–1476). In the middle of the 14th century a great migration of Albanians from the mountainous districts of the north took place, under the chiefs Jin Bua Spata and Peter Liosha; they advanced southwards as far as Acarnania and Aetolia (1358), occupied the greater portion of the despotate of

Epirus, and took Iannina and Arta. In the latter half of the century large colonies of Tosks were planted in the Morea by the despots of Mistra, and in Attica and Boeotia by Duke Nerio of Athens. As the power of the Balshas declined, the Venetians towards the close of the 14th century established themselves at Scutari, Budua, Antivari and elsewhere in northern Albania.

The advance of the Turks into Albania began with the capture of Iannina in 1431. For once in the history of the country the Albanian chiefs combined against the invader under a single leader, the celebrated George Kastriota, who fought thirteen campaigns in the period 1444–1466. In 1478 Kroïa, which the Venetians had occupied after Scanderbeg's death, surrendered to Mahommed II., and in 1479 Scutari, after a memorable defence by the Venetians and their Montenegrin allies, was reduced by blockade. Many of its native Christian defenders emigrated to Dalmatia and Italy; others took refuge in the mountains with the Roman Catholic Ghegs. In 1502 the Turks captured Durazzo, and in 1571 Antivari and Dulcigno, the last Venetian possessions in Albania. Notwithstanding the abandonment of Christianity by a large section of the population after the Turkish conquest, the authority of the sultans was never effectively established, and succeeding centuries present a record of interminable conflicts between the tribesmen and the Turks, between the Christians and the converts to Islam, or between all combined and the traditional Montenegrin enemy. The decline of the Ottoman power, which began towards the end of the 17th century, was marked by increasing anarchy and lawlessness in the outlying portions of the empire. About 1760 a Moslem chieftain, Mehemet of Bushat, after obtaining the pashalik of Scutari from the Porte, succeeded in establishing an almost independent sovereignty in Upper Albania, which remained hereditary in his family for some generations. In southern Albania Ali Pasha of Tepelen (b. about 1750), an able, cruel and unscrupulous man, subdued the neighbouring pashas and chiefs, crushed the Suliotes and Khimarrhotes, and exercised a practically independent sovereignty from the Adriatic to the Aegean. He introduced comparative civilization at Iannina, his capital, and maintained direct relations with foreign powers. Eventually he renounced his allegiance to the sultan, but was overthrown by a Turkish army in 1822. Shortly afterwards the dynasty of Scutari came to an end with the surrender of Mustafa Pasha, the last of the house of Bushat, to the grand vizier Reshid Pasha, in 1831.

The opposition of the Albanians, Christian as well as Moslem, to the reforms introduced by the sultan Mahmud II. led to the devastation of the country and the expatriation of thousands of its inhabitants. During the next half-century several local revolts occurred, but no movement of a strictly political character took place till after the Berlin Treaty (July 13, 1878), when some of the Moslems and Catholics combined to resist the stipulated transference of Albanian territory to Austria-Hungary, Servia and Montenegro, and the *Albanian League* was formed by an assemblage of chiefs at Prizren. The movement, which was instigated by the Porte with the object of evading the provisions of the treaty, was so far successful that the restoration of Plava and Gusinye to Albania was sanctioned by the powers, Montenegro receiving in exchange the town and district of Dulcigno. The Albanian leaders, however, soon displayed a spirit of independence, which proved embarrassing to Turkish diplomacy and caused alarm at Constantinople; their forces came into conflict with a Turkish army under Dervish Pasha near Dulcigno (November 1880), and eventually the league was suppressed. A similar agitation on a smaller scale was organized in southern Albania to resist the territorial concessions awarded by the powers to Greece. In the spring of 1903 serious disturbances took place in north-western Albania, but the Turks succeeded in pacifying the revolted tribesmen, partly by force and partly by concessions. These movements were far from displaying a genuinely national character. In recent years attempts have been made by Albanians resident abroad to propagate the national idea among their compatriots at home; committees have been formed at Brussels, Bucharest, Athens and elsewhere, and books, pamphlets and newspapers are surreptitiously sent into the country. Unity of aim and effort, however, seems foreign to the Albanians, except in defence of local or tribal privileges. The growth of a wider patriotic sentiment must depend on the spread of popular education; certainly up to 1908 no appreciable progress had been made in this direction.[1]

[1] For later events see Appendices, p. 177.

2. BULGARIA

CHAPTER I

PHYSICAL FEATURES

Bulgaria is a kingdom of south-eastern Europe, situated in the north-east of the Balkan Peninsula, and on the Black Sea. From 1878 until the 5th of October 1908 Bulgaria was an autonomous and tributary principality, under the suzerainty of the sultan of Turkey. The area of the kingdom amounts to 37,240 sq. m., and comprises the territories between the Balkan chain and the river Danube; the province of Eastern Rumelia, lying south of the Balkans; and the western highlands of Kiustendil, Samakov, Sofia and Trn. Bulgaria is bounded on the N. by the Danube, from its confluence with the Timok to the eastern suburbs of Silistria whence a line, forming the Rumanian frontier, is drawn to a point on the Black Sea coast 10 m. S. of Mangalia. On the E. it is washed by the Black Sea; on the S. the Turkish frontier, starting from a point on the coast about 12 m. S. of Sozopolis, runs in a south-westerly direction, crossing the river Maritza at Mustafa Pasha, and reaching the Arda at Adakali. The line laid down by the Berlin Treaty (1878) ascended the Arda to Ishiklar, thence following the crest of Rhodope to the westwards, but the cantons of Krjali and Rupchus included in this boundary were restored to Turkey in 1886. The present frontier, passing to the north of these districts, reaches the watershed of Rhodope a little north of the Dospat valley, and then follows the crest of the Rilska Planina to the summit of Tchrni Vrkh, where the Servian, Turkish and Bulgarian territories meet. From this point the western or Servian frontier passes northwards, leaving Trn to the east and Pirot to the west, reaching the Timok near Kula, and following the course of that river to its junction with the Danube. The Berlin Treaty boundary was far from corresponding with the ethnological limits of the Bulgarian race, which were more accurately defined by the abrogated treaty of San Stefano (see below, under *History*). A considerable portion of Macedonia, the districts of Pirot and Vranya belonging to Servia, the northern half of the vilayet of Adrianople, and large tracts of the Dobrudja, are, according to the best and most impartial authorities, mainly inhabited by a Bulgarian population.

Physical Features.—The most striking physical features are two mountain-chains; the Balkans, which run east and west through the heart of the country; and Rhodope, which, for a considerable distance, forms its southern boundary. The Balkans constitute the southern half of the great semicircular range known as the anti-Dacian system, of which the Carpathians form the northern portion. This great chain is sundered at the Iron Gates by the passage of the Danube; its two component parts present many points of resemblance in their aspect and outline, geological formation and flora. The Balkans (ancient *Haemus*) run almost parallel to the Danube, the mean interval being 60 m.; the summits are, as a rule, rounded, and the slopes gentle. The culminating points are in the centre of the range: Yumrukchál (7835 ft.), Maragudúk (7808 ft.) and Kadimlía (7464 ft.). The Balkans are known to the people of the country as the *Stara Planina* or "Old Mountain," the adjective denoting their greater size as compared with that of the adjacent ranges: "Balkan" is not a distinctive term, being applied by the Bulgarians, as well as the Turks, to all mountains. Closely parallel, on the south, are the minor ranges of the Sredna Gora or "Middle Mountains" (highest summit 5167 ft.) and the Karaja Dagh, enclosing respectively

the sheltered valleys of Karlovo and Kazanlyk. At its eastern extremity the Balkan chain divides into three ridges, the central terminating in the Black Sea at Cape Eminé (" Haemus "), the northern forming the watershed between the tributaries of the Danube and the rivers falling directly into the Black Sea. The Rhodope, or southern group, is altogether distinct from the Balkans, with which, however, it is connected by the Malka Planina and the Ikhtiman hills, respectively west and east of Sofia ; it may be regarded as a continuation of the great Alpine system which traverses the Peninsula from the Dinaric Alps and the Shar Planina on the west to the Shabkhana Dagh near the Aegean coast ; its sharper outlines and pine-clad steeps reproduce the scenery of the Alps rather than that of the Balkans. The imposing summit of Musallá (9631 ft.), next to Olympus, the highest in the Peninsula, forms the centre-point of the group ; it stands within the Bulgarian frontier at the head of the Mesta valley, on either side of which the Perin Dagh and the Despoto Dagh descend south and south-east respectively towards the Aegean. The chain of Rhodope proper radiates to the east ; owing to the retrocession of territory already mentioned, its central ridge no longer completely coincides with the Bulgarian boundary, but two of its principal summits, Sytké (7179 ft.) and Karlyk (6828 ft.), are within the frontier. From Musallá in a westerly direction extends the majestic range of the Rilska Planina, enclosing in a picturesque valley the celebrated monastery of Rila ; many summits of this chain attain 7000 ft. Farther west, beyond the Struma valley, is the Osogovska Planina, culminating in Ruyen (7392 ft.). To the north of the Rilska Planina, the almost isolated mass of Vitosha (7517 ft.) overhangs Sofia. Snow and ice remain in the sheltered crevices of Rhodope and the Balkans throughout the summer. The fertile slope trending northwards from the Balkans to the Danube is for the most part gradual and broken by hills ; the eastern portion known as the *Deli Orman*, or " Wild Wood," is covered by forest, and thinly inhabited. The abrupt and sometimes precipitous character of the Bulgarian bank of the Danube contrasts with the swampy lowlands and lagoons of the Rumanian side. Northern Bulgaria is watered by the Lom, Ogust, Iskr, Vid, Osem, Yantra and Eastern Lom, all, except the Iskr, rising in the Balkans, and all flowing into the Danube. The channels of these rivers are deeply furrowed and the fall is rapid ; irrigation is consequently difficult and navigation impossible. The course of the Iskr is remarkable : rising in the Rilska Planina, the river descends into the basin of Samakov, passing thence through a serpentine defile into the plateau of Sofia, where in ancient times it formed a lake ; it now forces its way through the Balkans by the picturesque gorge of Iskretz. Somewhat similarly the Deli, or " Wild," Kamchik breaks the central chain of the Balkans near their eastern extremity and, uniting with the Great Kamchik, falls into the Black Sea. The Maritza, the ancient *Hebrus*, springs from the slopes of Musallá, and, with its tributaries, the Tunja and Arda, waters the wide plain of Eastern Rumelia. The Struma (ancient and modern Greek *Strymon*) drains the valley of Kiustendil, and, like the Maritza, flows into the Aegean. The elevated basins of Samakov (lowest altitude 3050 ft.), Trn (2525 ft.), Breznik (2460 ft.), Radomir (2065 ft.), Sofia (1640 ft.) and Kiustendil (1540 ft.) are a peculiar feature of the western highlands.

Minerals.—The mineral wealth of Bulgaria is considerable, although, with the exception of coal, it remains largely unexploited. The minerals which are commercially valuable include gold (found in small quantities), silver, graphite, galena, pyrite, marcasite, chalcosine, sphalerite, chalcopyrite, bornite, cuprite, hematite, limonite, ochre, chromite, magnetite, azurite, manganese, malachite, gypsum, &c. The combustibles are anthracitiferous coal, coal, " brown coal " and lignite. The lignite mines opened by the government at Pernik in 1891 yielded in 1904 142,000 tons. Coal beds have been discovered at Trevna and elsewhere. Thermal springs, mostly sulphureous, exist in forty-three localities along the southern slope of the Balkans, in Rhodope, and in the districts of Sofia and Kiustendil ; maximum temperature at Zaparevo, near Dupnitza, 180·5° (Fahrenheit), at Sofia 118·4°. Many of these are frequented now, as in Roman times, owing to their valuable therapeutic qualities. The mineral springs on the north of the Balkans are, with one exception (Vrshetz, near Berkovitza), cold.

Climate.—The severity of the climate of Bulgaria in comparison with that of other European regions of the same latitude is attributable in part to the number and extent of its mountain ranges, in part to the general configuration of the Balkan Peninsula. Extreme heat in summer and cold in winter, great local contrasts, and rapid transitions of temperature occur here as in the adjoining countries. The local contrasts are remarkable. In the districts extending from the Balkans to the Danube, which are exposed to the bitter north wind, the winter cold is intense, and the river, notwithstanding the volume and rapidity of its current, is frequently frozen over ; the temperature has been known to fall to 24° below zero. Owing to the shelter afforded by the Balkan against hot southerly winds, the summer heat in this region is not unbearable ; its maximum is 99°. The high tableland of Sofia is generally covered with snow in the winter months ; it enjoys, however, a somewhat more equable climate than the northern district, the maximum temperature being 86°, the minimum 2° ; the air is bracing, and the summer nights are cool and fresh. In the eastern districts the proximity of the sea moderates the extremes of heat and cold ; the sea is occasionally frozen at Varna. The coast-line is exposed to violent north-east winds, and the

Black Sea, the πόντος ἄξεινος or "inhospitable sea" of the Greeks, maintains its evil reputation for storms. The sheltered plain of Eastern Rumelia possesses a comparatively warm climate; spring begins six weeks earlier than elsewhere in Bulgaria, and the vegetation is that of southern Europe. In general the Bulgarian winter is short and severe; the spring short, changeable and rainy; the summer hot, but tempered by thunderstorms; the autumn (*yasen*, "the clear time") magnificently fine and sometimes prolonged into the month of December. The mean temperature is 52°. The climate is healthy, especially in the mountainous districts. Malarial fever prevails in the valley of the Maritza, in the low-lying regions of the Black Sea coast, and even in the upland plain of Sofia, owing to neglect of drainage. The mean annual rainfall is 25·59 in. (Gabrovo, 41·73; Sofia, 27·68; Varna, 18·50).

Fauna.—Few special features are noticeable in the Bulgarian fauna. Bears are still abundant in the higher mountain districts, especially in the Rilska Planina and Rhodope; the Bulgarian bear is small and of brown colour, like that of the Carpathians. Wolves are very numerous, and in winter commit great depredations even in the larger country towns and villages; in hard weather they have been known to approach the outskirts of Sofia. The government offers a reward for the destruction of both these animals. The roe deer is found in all the forests, the red deer is less common; the chamois haunts the higher regions of the Rilska Planina, Rhodope and the Balkans. The jackal (*Canis aureus*) appears in the district of Burgas; the lynx is said to exist in the Sredna Gora; the wild boar, otter, fox, badger, hare, wild cat, marten, polecat (*Foetorius putorius*; the rare tiger polecat, *Foetorius sarmaticus*, is also found), weasel and shrewmouse (*Spermophilus citillus*) are common. The beaver (Bulg. *bebr*) appears to have been abundant in certain localities, *e.g.* Bebrovo, Bebresh, &c., but it is now apparently extinct. Snakes (*Coluber natrix* and other species), vipers (*Vipera berus* and *V. ammodytes*), and land and water tortoises are numerous. The domestic animals are the same as in the other countries of south-eastern Europe; the fierce shaggy grey sheep-dog leaves a lasting impression on most travellers in the interior. Fowls, especially turkeys, are everywhere abundant, and great numbers of geese may be seen in the Moslem villages. The ornithology of Bulgaria is especially interesting. Eagles (*Aquila imperialis* and the rarer *Aquila fulva*), vultures (*Vultur monachus*, *Gyps fulvus*, *Neophron percnopterus*), owls, kites, and the smaller birds of prey are extraordinarily abundant; singing birds are consequently rare. The lammergeier (*Gypaëtus barbatus*) is not uncommon. Immense flocks of wild swans, geese, pelicans, herons and other waterfowl haunt the Danube and the lagoons of the Black Sea coast. The cock of the woods (*Tetrao urogallus*) is found in the Balkan and Rhodope forests, the wild pheasant in the Tunja valley, the bustard (*Otis tarda*) in the Eastern Rumelian plain. Among the migratory birds are the crane, which hibernates in the Maritza valley, woodcock, snipe and quail; the great spotted cuckoo (*Coccystes glandarius*) is an occasional visitant. The red starling (*Pastor roseus*) sometimes appears in large flights. The stork, which is never molested, adds a picturesque feature to the Bulgarian village. Of fresh-water fish, the sturgeon (*Acipenser sturio* and *A. huso*), sterlet, salmon (*Salmo hucho*) and carp are found in the Danube; the mountain streams abound in trout. The Black Sea supplies turbot, mackerel, &c.; dolphins and flying fish may sometimes be seen.

Flora.—In regard to its flora the country may be divided into (1) the northern plain sloping from the Balkans to the Danube, (2) the southern plain between the Balkans and Rhodope, (3) the districts adjoining the Black Sea, (4) the elevated basins of Sofia, Samakov and Kiustendil, (5) the Alpine and sub-Alpine regions of the Balkans and the southern mountain group. In the first-mentioned region the vegetation resembles that of the Russian and Rumanian steppes; in the spring the country is adorned with the flowers of the crocus, orchis, iris, tulip and other bulbous plants, which in summer give way to tall grasses, umbelliferous growths, *dianthi*, *astragali*, &c. In the more sheltered district south of the Balkans the richer vegetation recalls that of the neighbourhood of Constantinople and the adjacent parts of Asia Minor. On the Black Sea coast many types of the Crimean, Transcaucasian and even the Mediterranean flora present themselves. The plateaus of Sofia and Samakov furnish specimens of sub-alpine plants, while the vine disappears; the hollow of Kiustendil, owing to its southerly aspect, affords the vegetation of the Macedonian valleys. The flora of the Balkans corresponds with that of the Carpathians; the Rila and Rhodope group is rich in purely indigenous types combined with those of the central European Alps and the mountains of Asia Minor. The Alpine types are often represented by variants: *e.g.* the *Campanula alpina* by the *Campanula orbelica*, the *Primula farinosa* by the *Primula frondosa* and *P. exigua*, the *Gentiana germanica* by the *Gentiana bulgarica*, &c. The southern mountain group, in common, perhaps, with the unexplored highlands of Macedonia, presents many isolated types, unknown elsewhere in Europe, and in some cases corresponding with those of the Caucasus. Among the more characteristic genera of the Bulgarian flora are the following: *Centaurea, Cirsium, Linaria, Scrophularia, Verbascum, Dianthus, Silene, Trifolium, Euphorbia, Cytisus, Astragalus, Ornithogalum, Allium, Crocus, Iris, Thymus, Umbellifera, Sedum, Hypericum, Scabiosa, Ranunculus, Orchis, Ophrys.*

Forests.—The principal forest trees are the oak, beech, ash, elm, walnut, cornel, poplar, pine and juniper. The oak is universal in the thickets, but large specimens are now rarely

found. Magnificent forests of beech clothe the valleys of the higher Balkans and the Rilska Planina; the northern declivity of the Balkans is, in general, well wooded, but the southern slope is bare. The walnut and chestnut are mainly confined to eastern Rumelia. Conifers (*Pinus silvestris*, *Picea excelsa*, *Pinus laricis*, *Pinus mughus*) are rare in the Balkans, but abundant in the higher regions of the southern mountain group, where the *Pinus peuce*, otherwise peculiar to the Himalayas, also flourishes. The wild lilac forms a beautiful feature in the spring landscape. Wild fruit trees, such as the apple, pear and plum, are common. The vast forests of the middle ages disappeared under the supine Turkish administration, which took no measures for their protection, and even destroyed the woods in the neighbourhood of towns and highways in order to deprive brigands of shelter. A law passed in 1889 prohibits disforesting, limits the right of cutting timber, and places the state forests under the control of inspectors. According to official statistics, 11,640 sq. m. or about 30 % of the whole superficies of the kingdom, are under forest, but the greater portion of this area is covered only by brushwood and scrub. The beautiful forests of the Rila district are rapidly disappearing under exploitation.

CHAPTER II

AGRICULTURE, COMMERCE AND COMMUNICATIONS

Agriculture.—Agriculture, the main source of wealth to the country, is still in an extremely primitive condition. The ignorance and conservatism of the peasantry, the habits engendered by widespread insecurity and the fear of official rapacity under Turkish rule, insufficiency of communications, want of capital, and in some districts sparsity of population, have all tended to retard the development of this most important industry. The peasants cling to traditional usage, and look with suspicion on modern implements and new-fangled modes of production. The plough is of a primeval type, rotation of crops is only partially practised, and the use of manure is almost unknown. The government has sedulously endeavoured to introduce more enlightened methods and ideas by the establishment of agricultural schools, the appointment of itinerant professors and inspectors, the distribution of better kinds of seeds, improved implements, &c. Efforts have been made to improve the breeds of native cattle and horses, and stallions have been introduced from Hungary and distributed throughout the country. Oxen and buffaloes are the principal animals of draught; the buffalo, which was apparently introduced from Asia in remote times, is much prized by the peasants for its patience and strength; it is, however, somewhat delicate and requires much care. In the eastern districts camels are also employed. The Bulgarian horses are small, but remarkably hardy, wiry and intelligent; they are as a rule unfitted for draught and cavalry purposes. The best sheep are found in the district of Karnobat in Eastern Rumelia. The number of goats in the country tends to decline, a relatively high tax being imposed on these animals owing to the injury they inflict on young trees. The average price of oxen is £5 each, draught oxen £12 the pair, buffaloes £14 the pair, cows £2, horses £6, sheep 7s., goats 5s. each. The principal cereals are wheat, maize, rye, barley, oats and millet. The cultivation of maize is increasing in the Danubian and eastern districts. Rice-fields are found in the neighbourhood of Philippopolis. Cereals represent about 80 % of the total exports. Besides grain, Bulgaria produces wine, tobacco, attar of roses, silk and cotton. The quality of the grape is excellent, and could the peasants be induced to abandon their highly primitive mode of wine-making the Bulgarian vintages would rank among the best European growths. The tobacco, which is not of the highest quality, is grown in considerable quantities for home consumption and only an insignificant amount is exported. The best tobacco-fields in Bulgaria are on the northern slopes of Rhodope, but the southern declivity, which produces the famous Kavala growth, is more adapted to the cultivation of the plant. The rose-fields of Kazanlyk and Karlovo lie in the sheltered valleys between the Balkans and the parallel chains of the Sredna Gora and Karaja Dagh. About 6000 lb of the rose-essence is annually exported, being valued from £12 to £14 per lb. Beetroot is cultivated in the neighbourhood of Sofia. Sericulture, formerly an important industry, has declined owing to disease among the silkworms, but efforts are being made to revive it with promise of success. Cotton is grown in the southern districts of Eastern Rumelia.

Peasant proprietorship is universal, the small freeholds averaging about 18 acres each. There are scarcely any large estates owned by individuals, but some of the monasteries possess considerable domains. The large *tchifliks*, or farms, formerly belonging to Turkish landowners, have been divided among the peasants. The rural proprietors enjoy the right of pasturing their cattle on the common lands belonging

to each village, and of cutting wood in the state forests. They live in a condition of rude comfort, and poverty is practically unknown, except in the towns. A peculiarly interesting feature in Bulgarian agricultural life is the *zadruga*, or house-community, a patriarchal institution apparently dating from prehistoric times. Family groups, sometimes numbering several dozen persons, dwell together on a farm in the observance of strictly communistic principles. The association is ruled by a house-father (*domakin, stareïshina*), and a house-mother (*domakinia*), who assign to the members their respective tasks. In addition to the farm work the members often practise various trades, the proceeds of which are paid into the general treasury. The community sometimes includes a priest, whose fees for baptisms, &c., augment the common fund. The national aptitude for combination is also displayed in the associations of market gardeners (*gradinarski druzhini, taïfi*), who in the spring leave their native districts for the purpose of cultivating gardens in the neighbourhood of some town, either in Bulgaria or abroad, returning in the autumn, when they divide the profits of the enterprise; the number of persons annually thus engaged probably exceeds 10,000. Associations for various agricultural, mining and industrial undertakings and provident societies are numerous: the handicraftsmen in the towns are organized in *esnafs* or gilds.

Manufactures.—The development of manufacturing enterprise on a large scale has been retarded by want of capital. The principal establishments for the native manufactures of *aba* and *shayak* (rough and fine homespuns), and of *gaitan* (braided embroidery) are at Sliven and Gabrovo respectively. The Bulgarian homespuns, which are made of pure wool, are of admirable quality. The exportation of textiles is almost exclusively to Turkey: value in 1896, £104,046; in 1898, £144,726; in 1904, £108,685. Unfortunately the home demand for native fabrics is diminishing owing to foreign competition; the smaller textile industries are declining, and the picturesque, durable and comfortable costume of the country is giving way to cheap ready-made clothing imported from Austria. The government has endeavoured to stimulate the home industry by ordering all persons in its employment to wear the native cloth, and the army is supplied almost exclusively by the factories at Sliven. A great number of small distilleries exist throughout the country; there are breweries in all the principal towns, tanneries at Sevlievo, Varna, &c., numerous corn-mills worked by water and steam, and sawmills, turned by the mountain torrents, in the Balkans and Rhodope. A certain amount of foreign capital has been invested in industrial enterprises; the most notable are sugar-refineries in the neighbourhood of Sofia and Philippopolis, and a cotton-spinning mill at Varna, on which an English company has expended about £60,000.

Commerce.—The usages of internal commerce have been considerably modified by the development of communications. The primitive system of barter in kind still exists in the rural districts, but is gradually disappearing. The great fairs (*panaïri, πανηγύρεις*) held at Eski-Jumaia, Dobritch and other towns, which formerly attracted multitudes of foreigners as well as natives, have lost much of their importance; a considerable amount of business, however, is still transacted at these gatherings, of which ninety-seven were held in 1898. The principal seats of the export trade are Varna, Burgas and Baltchik on the Black Sea, and Svishtov, Rustchuk, Nikopolis, Silistria, Rakhovo, and Vidin on the Danube. The chief centres of distribution for imports are Varna, Sofia, Rustchuk, Philippopolis and Burgas. About 10% of the exports passes over the Turkish frontier, but the government is making great efforts to divert the trade to Varna and Burgas, and important harbour works have been carried out at both these ports. The new port of Burgas was formally opened in 1904, that of Varna in 1906.

In 1887 the total value of Bulgarian foreign commerce was £4,419,589. The following table gives the values for the six years ending 1904. The great fluctuations in the exports are due to the variations of the harvest, on which the prosperity of the country practically depends:—

Year.	Exports.	Imports.	Total.
	£	£	£
1899	2,138,684	2,407,123	4,545,807
1900	2,159,305	1,853,684	4,012,989
1901	3,310,790	2,801,762	6,112,552
1902	4,147,381	2,849,059	7,996,440
1903 [1]	4,322,945	3,272,103	7,595,048
1904	6,304,756	5,187,583	11,492,339

The principal exports are cereals, live stock, homespuns, hides, cheese, eggs, attar of roses. Exports to the United Kingdom in 1900 were valued at £239,665; in 1904 at £989,127. The principal imports are textiles, metal goods, colonial goods, implements, furniture, leather, petroleum. Imports from the United Kingdom in 1900, £301,150; in 1904, £793,972.

The National Bank, a state institution with a capital of £400,000, has its central

[1] In 1911 the exports were valued at £7,385,000 and the imports at £7,093,000.

establishment at Sofia, and branches at Philippopolis, Rustchuk, Varna, Trnovo and Burgas. Besides conducting the ordinary banking operations, it issues loans on mortgage. Four other banks have been founded at Sofia by groups of foreign and native capitalists. There are several private banks in the country. The Imperial Ottoman Bank and the Industrial Bank of Kiev have branches at Philippopolis and Sofia respectively. The agricultural chests, founded by Midhat Pasha in 1863, and reorganized in 1894, have done much to rescue the peasantry from the hands of usurers. They serve as treasuries for the local administration, accept deposits at interest, and make loans to the peasants on mortgage or the security of two solvent landowners at 8%. Their capital in 1887 was £569,260; in 1904, £1,440,000. Since 1893 they have been constituted as the "Bulgarian Agricultural Bank"; the central direction is at Sofia. The post-office savings bank, established 1896, had in 1905 a capital of £1,360,560.

There are over 200 registered provident societies in the country. The legal rate of interest is 10%, but much higher rates are not uncommon.

Bulgaria, like the neighbouring states of the Peninsula, has adopted the metric system. Turkish weights and measures, however, are still largely employed in local commerce. The monetary unit is the *lev*, or "lion" (pl. *leva*), nominally equal to the franc, with its submultiple the *stotinka* (pl. *-ki*), or centime. The coinage consists of nickel and bronze coins (2½, 5, 10 and 20 *stotinki*) and silver coins (50 *stotinki*; 1, 2 and 5 *leva*). A gold coinage was struck in 1893 with pieces corresponding to those of the Latin Union. The Turkish pound and foreign gold coins are also in general circulation. The National Bank issues notes for 5, 10, 20, 50 and 100 *leva*, payable in gold. Notes payable in silver are also issued.

Finance.—It is only possible here to deal with Bulgarian finance prior to the declaration of independence in 1908. At the outset of its career the principality was practically unencumbered with any debt, external or internal. The stipulations of the Berlin Treaty (Art. ix.) with regard to the payment of a tribute to the sultan and the assumption of an "equitable proportion" of the Ottoman Debt were never carried into effect. In 1883 the claim of Russia for the expenses of the occupation (under Art. xx. of the treaty) was fixed at 26,545,625 fr. (£1,061,820) payable in annual instalments of 2,100,000 fr. (£84,000). The union with Eastern Rumelia in 1885 entailed liability for the obligations of that province consisting of an annual tribute to Turkey of 2,951,000 fr. (£118,040) and a loan of 3,375,000 fr. (£135,000) contracted with the Imperial Ottoman Bank. In 1888 the purchase of the Varna-Rustchuk railway was effected by the issue of treasury bonds at 6% to the vendors. In 1889 a loan of 30,000,000 fr. (£1,200,000) bearing 6% interest was contracted with the Vienna Länderbank and Bankverein at 85½. In 1892 a further 6% loan of 142,780,000 fr. (£5,711,200) was contracted with the Länderbank at 83, 86 and 89. In 1902 a 5% loan of 106,000,000 fr. (£4,240,000), secured on the tobacco dues and the stamp-tax, was contracted with the Banque de l'État de Russie and the Banque de Paris et des Pays Bas at 81½, for the purpose of consolidating the floating debt, and in 1904 a 5% loan of 99,980,000 fr. (£3,999,200) at 82, with the same guarantees, was contracted with the last-named bank mainly for the purchase of war material in France and the construction of railways. In January 1906 the national debt stood as follows: Outstanding amount of the consolidated loans, 363,070,500 fr. (£14,522,820); internal debt, 15,603,774 fr. (£624,151); Eastern Rumelian debt, 1,910,208 (£76,408). In February 1907 a 4½% loan of 145,000,000 fr. at 85, secured on the surplus proceeds of the revenues already pledged to the loans of 1902 and 1904, was contracted with the Banque de Paris et des Pays Bas associated with some German and Austrian banks for the conversion of the loans of 1888 and 1889 (requiring about 53,000,000 fr.) and for railway construction and other purposes. The total external debt was thus raised to upwards of 450,000,000 fr. The Eastern Rumelian tribute and the rent of the Sarambey-Belovo railway, if capitalized at 6%, would represent a further sum of 50,919,100 fr. (£2,036,765). The national debt was not disproportionately great in comparison with annual revenue. After the union with Eastern Rumelia the budget receipts increased from 40,803,262 leva (£1,635,730) in 1886 to 119,655,507 leva (£4,786,220) in 1904; the estimated revenue for 1905 was 111,920,000 leva (£4,476,800), of which 41,179,000 (£1,647,160) were derived from direct and 38,610,000 (£1,544,400) from indirect taxation; the estimated expenditure was 111,903,281 leva (£4,476,131), the principal items being: public debt, 31,317,346 (£1,252,693); army, 26,540,720 (£1,061,628); education, 10,402,470 (£416,098); public works, 14,461,171 (£578,446); interior, 7,559,517 (£302,380). The actual receipts in 1905 were 127,011,393 leva. In 1895 direct taxation which pressed heavily on the agricultural class, was diminished and indirect taxation (import duties and excise) considerably increased. In 1906 direct taxation amounted to 9 fr. 92 c., indirect to 8 fr. 58 c., per head of the population. The financial difficulties in which the country was involved at the close of the 19th century were attributable not to excessive indebtedness but to heavy outlay on public works, the army, and education, and to the maintenance of an unnecessary number of officials, the economic situation being aggravated by a succession of bad harvests. The war budget during ten years (1888–1897) absorbed the large sum of 275,822,017 leva (£11,033,300) or 35·77% of the whole national income within that period. In subsequent years military

expenditure continued to increase ; the total during the period since the union with Eastern Rumelia amounting to 599,520,698 leva (£23,980,800).

Communications.—In 1878 the only railway in Bulgaria was the Rustchuk-Varna line (137 m.), constructed by an English company in 1867. In Eastern Rumelia the line from Sarambey to Philippopolis and the Turkish frontier (122 m.), with a branch to Yamboli (66 m.), had been built by Baron Hirsch in 1873, and leased by the Turkish government to the Oriental Railways Company until 1958. It was taken over by the Bulgarian government in 1908. The construction of a railway from the Servian frontier at Tzaribrod to the Eastern Rumelian frontier at Vakarel was imposed on the principality by the Berlin Treaty, but political difficulties intervened, and the line, which touches Sofia, was not completed till 1888. In that year the Bulgarian government seized the short connecting line Belovo-Sarambey belonging to Turkey, and railway communication between Constantinople and the western capitals was established. Since that time great progress has been made in railway construction. In 1888, 240 m. of state railways were open to traffic ; in 1899, 777 m. ; in 1902, 880 m. Up to October 1908 all these lines were worked by the state, and, with the exception of the Belovo-Sarambey line (29 m.), which was worked under a convention with Turkey, were its property. The completion of the important line Radomir-Sofia-Shumen (November 1899) opened up the rich agricultural district between the Balkans and the Danube and connected Varna with the capital. Branches to Samovit and Rustchuk establish connexion with the Rumanian railway system on the opposite side of the river. It was hoped, with the consent of the Turkish government, to extend the line Sofia-Radomir-Kiustendil to Uskub, and thus to secure a direct route to Salonica and the Aegean. Road communication is still in an unsatisfactory condition. Roads are divided into three classes : " state roads," or main highways, maintained by the government ; " district roads " maintained by the district councils ; and " inter-village roads " (*mezhduselski shosseta*), maintained by the communes. Repairs are effected by the *corvée* system with requisitions of material. There are no canals, and inland navigation is confined to the Danube. The Austrian *Donaudampschiffahrtsgesellschaft* and the Russian *Gagarine* steamship company compete for the river traffic ; the grain trade is largely served by steamers belonging to Greek merchants. The coasting trade on the Black Sea is carried on by a Bulgarian steamship company ; the steamers of the Austrian Lloyd, and other foreign companies call at Varna, and occasionally at Burgas.

The development of postal and telegraphic communication has been rapid. In 1886, 1,468,494 letters were posted, in 1903, 29,063,043. Receipts of posts and telegraphs in 1886 were £40,975, in 1903 £134,942. In 1903 there were 3261 m. of telegraph lines and 531 m. of telephones.

CHAPTER III

POPULATION AND RELIGION

Towns.—The principal towns of Bulgaria are Sofia, the capital (Bulgarian *Sredetz*, a name now little used), pop. in January 1906, 82,187; Philippopolis, the capital of Eastern Rumelia (Bulg. *Plovdiv*), pop. 45,572; Varna, 37,155; Rustchuk (Bulg. *Russé*), 33,552; Sliven, 25,049; Shumla (Bulg. *Shumen*), 22,290; Plevna (Bulg. *Pleven*), 21,208; Stara-Zagora, 20,647; Tatar-Pazarjik, 17,549; Vidin, 16,168; Yamboli (Greek *Hyampolis*), 15,708; Dobritch (Turkish *Hajiolu-Pazarjik*), 15,369; Haskovo, 15,061; Vratza, 14,832; Stanimaka (Greek *Stenimachos*), 14,120; Razgrad, 13,783; Sistova (Bulg. *Svishtov*), 13,408; Burgas, 12,846; Kiustendil, 12,353; Trnovo, the ancient capital, 12,171.

The area of northern Bulgaria is 24,535 sq. m.; of Eastern Rumelia 12,705 sq. m.; of united Bulgaria, 37,240 sq. m. According to the census of the 12th of January 1906,[1] the population of northern Bulgaria was 2,853,704; of Eastern Rumelia, 1,174,535; of united Bulgaria, 4,028,239 or 88 per sq. m. Bulgaria thus ranks between Rumania and Portugal in regard to area; between the Netherlands and Switzerland in regard to population: in density of population it may be compared with Spain and Greece.

The first census of united Bulgaria was taken in 1888: it gave the total population as 3,154,375. In January 1893 the population was 3,310,713; in January 1901, 3,744,283.

The movement of the population at intervals of five years has been as follows:—

Year.	Marriages.	Births (living).	Still-born.	Deaths.	Natural Increase.[2]
1882	19,795	74,642	300	38,884	35,758
1887	20,089	83,179	144	39,396	43,783
1892	27,553	117,883	321	103,550	14,333
1897	29,227	149,631	858	90,134	59,497
1902	36,041	149,542	823	91,093	58,449

The death-rate shows a tendency to rise. In the five years 1882–1886 the mean death-rate was 18·0 per 1000; in 1887–1891, 20·4; in 1892–1896, 27·0; in 1897–1902, 23·92. Infant mortality is high, especially among the peasants. As the less healthy infants rarely survive, the adult population is in general robust, hardy and long-lived. The census of January 1901 gives 2719 persons of 100 years and upwards. Young men, as a rule, marry before the age of twenty-five, girls before eighteen. The number of illegitimate births is inconsiderable, averaging only 0·12 of the total. The population according to sex in 1901 is given as 1,909,567 males and 1,834,716 females, or 51 males to 49 females. A somewhat similar disparity may be observed in the other

[1] According to the census taken on December 31, 1910, Bulgaria had a population of 4,329,108 inhabitants, showing an increase of 293,533 inhabitants over that of 1900. Of these 3,203,810 were Bulgarians, 488,010 Turks, 98,004 Gipsies, 75,773 Rumanians, 63,487 Greeks, 37,663 Jews and 68,828 of other nationalities. The census population of the principal towns was: Sofia, 102,769; Philippopolis, 47,929; Varna, 41,317; Rustchuk, 35,823; Sliven, 25,141; Plevna, 23,081; Shumla, 22,197; Stara-Zagora, 21,947; Tatar-Pazarjik, 18,081; Dobritch, 17,156; Vidin, 16,473; Yamboli, 15,954; Vratza, 15,179; Haskovo, 15,095; Burgas, 15,008; Sistova, 13,063; and Trnovo, 12,625.

[2] Excess of births over deaths.

countries of the Peninsula. Classified according to occupation, 2,802,603 persons, or 74·85 % of the population, are engaged in agriculture; 360,834 in various productive industries; 118,824 in the service of the government or the exercise of liberal professions, and 148,899 in commerce. The population according to race cannot be stated with absolute accuracy, but it is approximately shown by the census of 1901, which gives the various nationalities according to language as follows:—Bulgars, 2,888,219; Turks, 531,240; Rumans, 71,063; Greeks, 66,635; Gipsies (Tziganes), 89,549; Jews (Spanish speaking), 33,661; Tatars, 18,884; Armenians, 14,581; other nationalities, 30,451. The Bulgarian inhabitants of the Peninsula beyond the limits of the principality may, perhaps, be estimated at 1,500,000 or 1,600,000, and the grand total of the race possibly reaches 5,500,000.

Ethnology.—The Bulgarians, who constitute 77·14 % of the inhabitants of the kingdom, are found in their purest type in the mountain districts, the Ottoman conquest and subsequent colonization having introduced a mixed population into the plains.

The devastation of the country which followed the Turkish invasion resulted in the extirpation or flight of a large proportion of the Bulgarian inhabitants of the lowlands, who were replaced by Turkish colonists. The mountainous districts, however, retained their original population and sheltered large numbers of the fugitives. The passage of the Turkish armies during the wars with Austria, Poland and Russia led to further Bulgarian emigrations. The flight to the Banat, where 22,000 Bulgarians still remain, took place in 1730. At the beginning of the 19th century the majority of the population of the Eastern Rumelian plain was Turkish. The Turkish colony, however, declined, partly in consequence of the drain caused by military service, while the Bulgarian remnant increased, notwithstanding a considerable emigration to Bessarabia before and after the Russo-Turkish campaign of 1828. Efforts were made by the Porte to strengthen the Moslem element by planting colonies of Tatars in 1861 and Circassians in 1864. The advance of the Russian army in 1877–1878 caused an enormous exodus of the Turkish population, of which only a small proportion returned to settle permanently. The emigration continued after the conclusion of peace, and is still in progress, notwithstanding the efforts of the Bulgarian government to arrest it. In twenty years (1879–1899), at least 150,000 Turkish peasants left Bulgaria. Much of the land thus abandoned still remains unoccupied. On the other hand, a considerable influx of Bulgarians from Macedonia, the vilayet of Adrianople, Bessarabia, and the Dobrudja took place within the same period, and the inhabitants of the mountain villages show a tendency to migrate into the richer districts of the plains.

The northern slopes of the Balkans from Belogradchik to Elena are inhabited almost exclusively by Bulgarians; in Eastern Rumelia the national element is strongest in the Sredna Gora and Rhodope. Possibly the most genuine representatives of the race are the Pomaks or Mahommedan Bulgarians, whose conversion to Islam preserved their women from the licence of the Turkish conqueror; they inhabit the highlands of Rhodope and certain districts in the neighbourhood of Lovtcha (Lovetch) and Plevna. Retaining their Bulgarian speech and many ancient national usages, they may be compared with the indigenous Cretan, Bosnian and Albanian Moslems. The Pomaks in the principality are estimated at 26,000, but their numbers are declining. In the north-eastern district between the Yantra and the Black Sea the Bulgarian race is as yet thinly represented; most of the inhabitants are Turks, a quiet, submissive, agricultural population, which unfortunately shows a tendency to emigrate. The Black Sea coast is inhabited by a variety of races. The Greek element is strong in the maritime towns, and displays its natural aptitude for navigation and commerce. The Gagäuzi, a peculiar race of Turkish-speaking Christians, inhabit the littoral from Cape Eminé to Cape Kaliakra: they are of Turanian origin and descend from the ancient Kumani. The valleys of the Maritza and Arda are occupied by a mixed population consisting of Bulgarians, Greeks and Turks; the principal Greek colonies are in Stanimaka, Kavakly and Philippopolis. The origin of the peculiar Shôp tribe which inhabits the mountain tracts of Sofia, Breznik and Radomir is a mystery. The Shôps are conceivably a remnant of the aboriginal race which remained undisturbed in its mountain home during the Slavonic and Bulgarian incursions: they cling with much tenacity to their distinctive customs, apparel and dialect. The considerable Vlach or Ruman colony in the Danubian districts dates from the 18th century, when large numbers of Walachian peasants sought a refuge on Turkish soil from the tyranny of the boyars or nobles: the department of Vidin alone contains 36 Ruman villages with a population of 30,550. Especially interesting is the race of nomad shepherds from the Macedonian and the Aegean coast who come in thousands every summer to pasture their flocks on the Bulgarian mountains; they are divided into two tribes—the Kutzovlachs, or "lame Vlachs," who speak Rumanian, and the Hellenized Karakatchans or "black shepherds" (compare the Morlachs, or Mavrovlachs, *μαῦροι βλάχες*, of Dalmatia), who speak Greek. The Tatars, a peaceable, industrious race, are chiefly found in the neighbourhood of Varna and Silistria; they were introduced as colonists by the Turkish government in 1861. They may be reckoned at 12,000. The gipsies, who are scattered in considerable numbers throughout the country, came into Bulgaria in the 14th century. They are for the most part Moslems, and retain their ancient Indian speech. They live in the utmost poverty, occupy separate cantonments in the

villages, and are treated as outcasts by the rest of the population. The Bulgarians, being of mixed origin, possess few salient physical characteristics. The Slavonic type is far less pronounced than among the kindred races; the Ugrian or Finnish cast of features occasionally asserts itself in the central Balkans. The face is generally oval, the nose straight, the jaw somewhat heavy. The men, as a rule, are rather below middle height, compactly built, and, among the peasantry, very muscular; the women are generally deficient in beauty and rapidly grow old. The upper class, the so-called *intelligenzia*, is physically very inferior to the rural population.

National Character.—The character of the Bulgarians presents a singular contrast to that of the neighbouring nations. Less quick-witted than the Greeks, less prone to idealism than the Servians, less apt to assimilate the externals of civilization than the Rumanians, they possess in a remarkable degree the qualities of patience, perseverance and endurance, with the capacity for laborious effort peculiar to an agricultural race. The tenacity and determination with which they pursue their national aims may eventually enable them to vanquish their more brilliant competitors in the struggle for hegemony in the Peninsula. Unlike most southern races, the Bulgarians are reserved, taciturn, phlegmatic, unresponsive, and extremely suspicious of foreigners. The peasants are industrious, peaceable and orderly; the vendetta, as it exists in Albania, Montenegro and Macedonia, and the use of the knife in quarrels, so common in southern Europe, are alike unknown. The tranquillity of rural life has, unfortunately, been invaded by the intrigues of political agitators, and bloodshed is not uncommon at elections. All classes practise thrift bordering on parsimony, and any display of wealth is generally resented. The standard of sexual morality is high, especially in the rural districts; the unfaithful wife is an object of public contempt, and in former times was punished with death. Marriage ceremonies are elaborate and protracted, as is the case in most primitive communities; elopements are frequent, but usually take place with the consent of the parents on both sides, in order to avoid the expense of a regular wedding. The principal amusement on Sundays and holidays is the *choró* (χορός), which is danced on the village green to the strains of the *gaïda* or bagpipe, and the *gûsla*, a rudimentary fiddle. The Bulgarians are religious in a simple way, but not fanatical, and the influence of the priesthood is limited. Many ancient superstitions linger among the peasantry, such as the belief in the vampire and the evil eye; witches and necromancers are numerous and are much consulted.

Religion.—The Orthodox Bulgarian National Church claims to be an indivisible member of the Eastern Orthodox communion, and asserts historic continuity with the autocephalous Bulgarian church of the middle ages. It was, however, declared schismatic by the Greek patriarch of Constantinople in 1872, although differing in no point of doctrine from the Greek Church. The Exarch, or supreme head of the Bulgarian Church, resides at Constantinople; he enjoys the title of "Beatitude" (*negovo Blazhenstvo*), receives an annual subvention of about £6000 from the kingdom, and exercises jurisdiction over the Bulgarian hierarchy in all parts of the Ottoman empire. The exarch is elected by the Bulgarian episcopate, the Holy Synod, and a general assembly (*obshti sbor*), in which the laity is represented; their choice, before the declaration of Bulgarian independence, was subject to the sultan's approval. The occupant of the dignity is titular metropolitan of a Bulgarian diocese. The organization of the church within the principality was regulated by statute in 1883. There are eleven eparchies or dioceses in the country, each administered by a metropolitan with a diocesan council; one diocese has also a suffragan bishop. Church government is vested in the Holy Synod, consisting of four metropolitans, which assembles once a year. The laity take part in the election of metropolitans and parish priests, only the "black clergy," or monks, being eligible for the episcopate. All ecclesiastical appointments are subject to the approval of the government. There are 2106 parishes (*eporii*) in the kingdom with 9 archimandrites, 1936 parish priests and 21 deacons, 78 monasteries with 184 monks, and 12 convents with 346 nuns. The celebrated monastery of Rila possesses a vast estate in the Rilska Planina; its abbot or *hegumen* owns no spiritual superior but the exarch. Ecclesiastical affairs are under the control of the minister of public worship; the clergy of all denominations are paid by the state, being free, however, to accept fees for baptisms, marriages, burials, the administering of oaths, &c. The census of January 1901 gives 3,019,999 persons of the Orthodox faith (including 66,635 Patriarchist Greeks). 643,300 Mahommedans, 33,663 Jews, 28,569 Catholics, 13,809 Gregorian Armenians, 4524 Protestants and 419 whose religion is not stated. The Greek Orthodox community has four metropolitans dependent on the patriarchate. The Mahommedan community is rapidly diminishing; it is organized under 16 muftis who with their assistants receive a subvention from the government. The Catholics, who have two bishops, are for the most part the descendants of the medieval Paulicians; they are especially numerous in the neighbourhood of Philippopolis and Sistova. The Armenians have one bishop. The Protestants are mostly Methodists; since 1857 Bulgaria has been a special field of activity for American Methodist missionaries, who have established an important school at Samakov. The Berlin Treaty (Art. V.) forbade religious disabilities in regard to the enjoyment of civil and political rights, and guaranteed the free exercise of all religions.

Education.—No educational system existed in many of the rural districts before 1878;

the peasantry was sunk in ignorance, and the older generation remained totally illiterate. In the towns the schools were under the superintendence of the Greek clergy, and Greek was the language of instruction. The first Bulgarian school was opened at Gabrovo in 1835 by the patriots Aprilov and Neophyt Rilski. After the Crimean War, Bulgarian schools began to appear in the villages of the Balkans and the south-eastern districts. The children of the wealthier class were generally educated abroad. The American institution of Robert College on the Bosporus rendered an invaluable service to the newly created state by providing it with a number of well-educated young men fitted for positions of responsibility. In 1878, after the liberation of the country, there were 1658 schools in the towns and villages. Primary education was declared obligatory from the first, but the scarcity of properly qualified teachers and the lack of all requisites proved serious impediments to educational organization. The government has made great efforts and incurred heavy expenditure for the spread of education ; the satisfactory results obtained are largely due to the keen desire for learning which exists among the people. The present educational system dates from 1891. Almost all the villages now possess " national " (*narodni*) primary schools, maintained by the communes with the aid of a state subvention and supervised by departmental and district inspectors. The state also assists a large number of Turkish primary schools. The penalties for non-attendance are not very rigidly enforced, and it has been found necessary to close the schools in the rural districts during the summer, the children being required for labour in the fields.

The age for primary instruction is six to ten years ; in 1890, 47·01% of the boys and 16·11% of the girls attended the primary schools ; in 1898, 85% of the boys and 40% of the girls. In 1904 there were 4344 primary schools, of which 3060 were " national," or communal, and 1284 denominational (Turkish, Greek, Jewish, &c.), attended by 340,668 pupils, representing a proportion of 9·1 per hundred inhabitants. In addition to the primary schools, 40 infant schools for children of 3 to 6 years of age were attended by 2707 pupils. In 1888 only 327,766 persons, or 11% of the population, were literate ; in 1893 the proportion rose to 19·88% ; in 1901 to 23·9%.

In the system of secondary education the distinction between the classical and " real " or special course of study is maintained as in most European countries ; in 1904 there were 175 secondary schools and 18 gymnasia (10 for boys and 8 for girls). In addition to these there are 6 technical and 3 agricultural schools ; 5 of pedagogy, 1 theological, 1 commercial, 1 of forestry, 1 of design, 1 for surgeons' assistants, and a large military school at Sofia. Government aid is given to students of limited means, both for secondary education and the completion of their studies abroad. The university of Sofia, formerly known as the " high school," was reorganized in 1904 ; it comprises 3 faculties (philology, mathematics and law), and possesses a staff of 17 professors and 25 lecturers. The number of students in 1905 was 943.

CETTIGNE.

CETTIGNE, the capital of Montenegro, with its walls and encircling mountains, connected by a zigzag highway with Cattaro. It was founded by Stephen the Black at the end of the 15th Century.

SOFIA.

SOFIA, the capital of Bulgaria, with its background of mountains and its monument, facing the Parliament House, to the Tsar Alexander II. of Russia, by whose help it gained virtual independence of the Turk in 1878.

CHAPTER IV

GOVERNMENT AND ARMY

Government.—Bulgaria is a constitutional monarchy; by Art. iii. of the Berlin Treaty it was declared hereditary in the family of a prince "freely elected by the population and confirmed by the Sublime Porte with the assent of the powers." According to the constitution of Trnovo, voted by the Assembly of Notables on the 29th of April 1879, revised by the Grand Sobranye on the 27th of May 1893, and modified by the proclamation of a Bulgarian kingdom on the 5th of October 1908, the royal dignity descends in the direct male line. The king must profess the Orthodox faith, only the first elected sovereign and his immediate heir being released from this obligation. The legislative power is vested in the king in conjunction with the national assembly; he is supreme head of the army, supervises the executive power, and represents the country in its foreign relations. In case of a minority or an interregnum, a regency of three persons is appointed. The national representation is embodied in the Sobranye, or ordinary assembly (Bulgarian, *Sŭbranïe*, the Russian form *Sobranye* being usually employed by foreign writers), and the Grand Sobranye, which is convoked in extraordinary circumstances. The Sobranye is elected by manhood suffrage, in the proportion of 1 to 20,000 of the population, for a term of five years. Every Bulgarian citizen who can read and write and has completed his thirtieth year is eligible as a deputy. Annual sessions are held from the 27th of October to the 27th of December. All legislative and financial measures must first be discussed and voted by the Sobranye and then sanctioned and promulgated by the king. The government is responsible to the Sobranye, and the ministers, whether deputies or not, attend its sittings. The Grand Sobranye, which is elected in the proportion of 2 to every 20,000 inhabitants, is convoked to elect a new king, to appoint a regency, to sanction a change in the constitution, or to ratify an alteration in the boundaries of the kingdom. The executive is entrusted to a cabinet of eight members—the ministers of foreign affairs and religion, finance, justice, public works, the interior, commerce and agriculture, education and war. Local administration, which is organized on the Belgian model, is under the control of the minister of the interior. The country is divided into twenty-two departments (*okrŭg*, pl. *okrŭzi*), each administered by a prefect (*upravitel*), assisted by a departmental council, and eighty-four sub-prefectures (*okoliá*), each under a sub-prefect (*okoliiski natchálnik*). The number of these functionaries is excessive. The four principal towns have each in addition a prefect of police (*grado-natchalnik*) and one or more commissaries (*pristav*). The gendarmery numbers about 4000 men, or 1 to 825 of the inhabitants. The prefects and sub-prefects have replaced the Turkish *mutessarifs* and *kaimakams*; but the system of municipal government, left untouched by the Turks, descends from primitive times. Every commune (*obshtina*), urban or rural, has its *kmet*, or mayor, and council; the commune is bound to maintain its primary schools, a public library or reading-room, &c.; the kmet possesses certain magisterial powers, and in the rural districts he collects the taxes. Each village, as a rule, forms a separate commune, but occasionally two or more villages are grouped together.

Justice.—The civil and penal codes are, for the most part, based on the Ottoman law. While the principality formed a portion of the Turkish empire, the privileges of the capitulations were guaranteed to foreign subjects (Berlin Treaty, Art. viii.). The lowest civil and criminal court is that of the village kmet, whose jurisdiction is confined to the limits of the commune; no corresponding tribunal exists in the towns. Each sub-prefecture and town has a justice of the peace—in some cases two or more; the number of these officials is 130. Next follows the departmental tribunal or court of

first instance, which is competent to pronounce sentences of death, penal servitude and deprivation of civil rights; in specified criminal cases the judges are aided by three assessors chosen by lot from an annually prepared panel of forty-eight persons. Three courts of appeal sit respectively at Sofia, Rustchuk and Philippopolis. The highest tribunal is the court of cassation, sitting at Sofia, and composed of a president, two vice-presidents and nine judges. There is also a high court of audit (*vrkhovna smetna palata*), similar to the French *cour des comptes*. The judges are poorly paid and are removable by the government. In regard to questions of marriage, divorce and inheritance the Greek, Mahommedan and Jewish communities enjoy their own spiritual jurisdiction.

Army and Navy.—The organization of the military forces of the principality was undertaken by Russian officers, who for a period of six years (1879–1885) occupied all the higher posts in the army. In Eastern Rumelia during the same period the "militia" was instructed by foreign officers; after the union it was merged in the Bulgarian army. The present organization is based on the law of Jan. 1, 1904. The army consists of: (1) the active or field army (*deïstvuyushta armia*), divided into (i.) the active army, (ii.) the active army reserve; (2) the reserve army (*reservna armia*); (3) the *opltchenie* or militia; the two former may operate outside the kingdom, the latter only within the frontier for purposes of defence. In time of peace the active army (i.) alone is on a permanent footing.

The peace strength in 1905 was 2500 officers, 48,200 men and 8000 horses, the active army being composed of 9 divisions of infantry, each of 4 regiments, 5 regiments of cavalry together with 12 squadrons attached to the infantry divisions, 9 regiments of artillery each of 3 groups of 3 batteries, together with 2 groups of mountain artillery, each of 3 batteries, and 3 battalions of siege artillery; 9 battalions of engineers with 1 railway and balloon section and 1 bridging section. At the same date the army was locally distributed in nine divisional areas with headquarters at Sofia, Philippopolis, Sliven, Shumla, Rustchuk, Vratza, Plevna, Stara-Zagora and Dupnitza, the divisional area being subdivided into four districts, from each of which one regiment of four battalions was recruited and completed with reservists. In case of mobilization each of the nine areas would furnish 20,106 men (16,000 infantry, 1200 artillery, 1000 engineers, 300 divisional cavalry and 1606 transport and hospital services, &c.). The war strength thus amounted to 180,954 of the active army and its reserve, exclusive of the five regiments of cavalry. In addition the 36 districts each furnished 3 battalions of the reserve army and one battalion of opltchenïe, or 144,000 infantry, which with the cavalry regiments (3000 men) and the reserves of artillery, engineers, divisional cavalry, &c. (about 10,000), would bring the grand total in time of war to about 338,000 officers and men with 18,000 horses.[1] The men of the reserve battalions are drafted into the active army as occasion requires, but the militia serves as a separate force. Military service is obligatory, but Moslems may claim exemption on payment of £20; the age of recruitment in time of peace is nineteen, in time of war eighteen. Each conscript serves two years in the infantry and subsequently eight years in the active reserve, or three years in the other corps and six years in the active reserve; he is then liable to seven years' service in the reserve army and finally passes into the opltchenïe. The Bulgarian peasant makes an admirable soldier—courageous, obedient, persevering, and inured to hardship; the officers are painstaking and devoted to their duties. The active army and reserve, with the exception of the engineer regiments, are furnished with the ·315″ Mannlicher magazine rifle, the engineer and militia with the Berdan; the artillery in 1905 mainly consisted of 8·7- and 7·5-cm. Krupp guns (field) and 6·5-cm. Krupp (mountain), 12-cm. Krupp and 15-cm. Creuzot (Schneider) howitzers, 15-cm. Krupp and 12-cm. Creuzot siege guns, and 7.5-cm. Creuzot quick-firing guns; total of all descriptions, 1154. Defensive works were constructed at various strategical points near the frontier and elsewhere, and at Varna and Burgas. The naval force consisted of a flotilla stationed at Rustchuk and Varna, where a canal connects Lake Devno with the sea. It was composed in 1905 of 1 prince's yacht, 1 armoured cruiser, 3 gunboats, 3 torpedo boats and 10 other small vessels, with a complement of 107 officers and 1231 men.

[1] Before war broke out in October 1912, the Bulgarian army was already highly thought of in military circles. Service was obligatory for Christians from 20 to 46 years old, with certain exemptions, or from 17 in war time; the annual recruit contingent being 26,700, of whom 17,000 went to the infantry. Service with the colours was for two years in the infantry, and three in other arms; in the reserve of the active army, 18 years for infantry and 16 for other arms, with a fortnight's annual training; in the militia—1st *ban*, infantry 3 years, other arms 4, with one to three weeks' annual training; 2nd *ban*, 3 years all arms, with 3 to 7 days' training. The peace establishment was 60,000, organized in 9 divisions of 2 brigades of 2 regiments each, the units being 36 infantry, 11 cavalry, 9 artillery, and 3 mountain artillery regiments, 3 fortress artillery battalions of engineers. The total war strength was estimated at 400,000; it was calculated that a first line of 200,000 to 250,000 with 700 guns was available, besides 18 reserve regiments, 36 battalions 1st *ban* militia, 36 half-battalions 2nd *ban*. The infantry were armed with the Mannlicher 8-cm. 1895 magazine rifle; cavalry with swords (lances for certain regiments) and 1890 Mannlicher carbine; artillery with Maxim machine-guns, shielded Schneider-Canet field guns, and Creuzot 12-cm. howitzers.

CHAPTER V

EARLY HISTORY

The ancient Thraco-Illyrian race which inhabited the district between the Danube and the Aegean was expelled, or more probably absorbed, by the great Slavonic immigration which took place at various intervals between the end of the 3rd century after Christ and the beginning of the 6th. The numerous tumuli which are found in all parts of the country (see Herodotus v. 8) and some stone tablets with bas-reliefs remain as monuments of the aboriginal population; and certain structural peculiarities, which are common to the Bulgarian and Rumanian languages, may conceivably be traced to the influence of the primitive Illyrian speech, now probably represented by the Albanian. The Slavs, an agricultural people, were governed, even in those remote times, by the democratic local institutions to which they are still attached; they possessed no national leaders or central organization, and their only political unit was the *pleme*, or tribe. They were considerably influenced by contact with Roman civilization. It was reserved for a foreign race, altogether distinct in origin, religion and customs, to give unity and coherence to the scattered Slavonic groups, and to weld them into a compact and powerful state which for some centuries played an important part in the history of eastern Europe and threatened the existence of the Byzantine empire.

The Bulgars, a Turanian race akin to the Tatars, Huns, Avars, Petchenegs and Finns, made their appearance on the banks of the Pruth in the latter part of the 7th century. They were a horde of wild horsemen, fierce and barbarous, practising polygamy, and governed despotically by their *khans* (chiefs) and *boyars* or *bolyars* (nobles). Their original abode was the tract between the Ural mountains and the Volga, where the kingdom of Great (or Black) Bolgary existed down to the 13th century. In 679, under their khan Asparukh (or Isperikh), they crossed the Danube, and, after subjugating the Slavonic population of Moesia, advanced to the gates of Constantinople and Salonica. The East Roman emperors were compelled to cede to them the province of Moesia and to pay them an annual tribute. The invading horde was not numerous, and during the next two centuries it became gradually merged in the Slavonic population. Like the Franks in Gaul the Bulgars gave their name and a political organization to the more civilized race which they conquered, but adopted its language, customs and local institutions. Not a trace of the Ugrian or Finnish element is to be found in the Bulgarian speech. This complete assimilation of a conquering race may be illustrated by many parallels.

The history of the early Bulgarian dynasties is little else than a record of continuous conflicts with the Byzantine emperors. The tribute first imposed on the Greeks by Asparukh was again exacted by Kardam (791–797) and Krum (802–815), a sovereign noted alike for his cruelty and his military and political capacity. Under his rule the Bulgarian realm extended from the Carpathians to the neighbourhood of Adrianople; Serdica (the present Sofia) was taken, and the valley of the Struma conquered. Prêslav, the Bulgarian capital, was attacked and burned by the emperor Nicephorus, but the Greek army on its return was annihilated in one of the Balkan passes; the emperor was slain, and his skull was converted by Krum into a goblet. The reign of Boris (852–884) is memorable for the introduction of Christianity into Bulgaria. Two monks of Salonica, SS. Cyril and Methodius, are generally reverenced as the national apostles; the scene of their labours, however, was among the Slavs of Moravia, and the Bulgars

were evangelized by their disciples. Boris, finding himself surrounded by Christian states, decided from political motives to abandon paganism. He was baptized in 864, the emperor Michael III. acting as his sponsor. It was at this time that the controversies broke out which ended in the schism between the Churches of the East and West. Boris long wavered between Constantinople and Rome, but the refusal of the pope to recognize an autocephalous Bulgarian church determined him to offer his allegiance to the Greek patriarch. The decision was fraught with momentous consequences for the future of the race. The nation altered its religion in obedience to its sovereign, and some of the boyars who resisted the change paid with their lives for their fidelity to the ancient belief. The independence of the Bulgarian church was recognized by the patriarchate, a fact much dwelt upon in recent controversies. The Bulgarian primates subsequently received the title of patriarch; their see was transferred from Prêslav to Sofia, Voden and Prespa successively, and finally to Ochrida.

The national power reached its zenith under Simeon (893–927), a monarch distinguished in the arts of war and peace. In his reign, says Gibbon, "Bulgaria assumed a rank among the civilized powers of the earth." His dominions extended from the Black Sea to the Adriatic, and from the borders of Thessaly to the Save and the Carpathians. Having become the most powerful monarch in eastern Europe, Simeon assumed the style of "Emperor and Autocrat of all the Bulgars and Greeks" (*tsar i samodrzhetz vsêm Blgarom i Grkom*), a title which was recognized by Pope Formosus. During the latter years of his reign, which were spent in peace, his people made great progress in civilization, literature flourished, and Prêslav, according to contemporary chroniclers, rivalled Constantinople in magnificence. After the death of Simeon the Bulgarian power declined owing to internal dissensions; the land was distracted by the Bogomil heresy, and a separate or western empire, including Albania and Macedonia, was founded at Ochrida by Shishman, a boyar from Trnovo. A notable event took place in 967, when the Russians, under Sviatoslav, made their first appearance in Bulgaria. The Bulgarian tsar, Boris II., with the aid of the emperor John Zimisces, expelled the invaders, but the Greeks took advantage of their victory to dethrone Boris, and the first Bulgarian empire thus came to an end after an existence of three centuries. The empire at Ochrida, however, rose to considerable importance under Samuel, the son of Shishman (976–1014), who conquered the greater part of the Peninsula, and ruled from the Danube to the Morea. After a series of campaigns this redoubtable warrior was defeated at Bêlasitza by the emperor Basil II., surnamed Bulgaroktonos, who put out the eyes of 15,000 prisoners taken in the fight, and sent them into the camp of his adversary. The Bulgarian tsar was so overpowered by the spectacle that he died of grief. A few years later his dynasty finally disappeared, and for more than a century and a half (1018–1186) the Bulgarian race remained subject to the Byzantine emperors.

The Second Empire.—In 1186, after a general insurrection of Vlachs and Bulgars under the brothers Ivan and Peter Asên of Trnovo, who claimed descent from the dynasty of the Shishmanovtzi, the nation recovered its independence, and Ivan Asên assumed the title of "Tsar of the Bulgars and Greeks." The seat of the second, or "Bulgaro-Vlach" empire was at Trnovo, which the Bulgarians regard as the historic capital of their race. Kaloyan, the third of the Asên monarchs extended his dominions to Belgrade, Nish and Skopïe (Uskub); he acknowledged the spiritual supremacy of the pope, and received the royal crown from a papal legate. The greatest of all Bulgarian rulers was Ivan Asên II. (1218–1241), a man of humane and enlightened character. After a series of victorious campaigns he established his sway over Albania, Epirus, Macedonia and Thrace, and governed his wide dominions with justice, wisdom and moderation. In his time the nation attained a prosperity hitherto unknown: commerce, the arts and literature flourished; Trnovo, the capital, was enlarged and embellished, and great numbers of churches and monasteries were founded or endowed. The dynasty of the Asêns became extinct in 1257, and a period of decadence began. Two other dynasties, both of Kuman origin, followed—the Terterovtzi, who ruled at Trnovo, and the Shishmanovtzi, who founded an independent state at Vidin, but afterwards reigned in the national capital. Eventually, on the 28th of June 1330, a day commemorated with sorrow in Bulgaria, Tsar Michael Shishman was defeated and slain by the Servians, under Stephen Urosh III., at the battle of Velbûzhd (Kiustendil). Bulgaria, though still retaining its native rulers, now became subject to Servia, and formed part of the short-lived empire of Stephen Dushan (1331–1355). The Servian hegemony vanished after the death of Dushan, and the Christian races of the Peninsula, distracted by the quarrels of their petty princes, fell an easy prey to the advancing might of the Moslem invader.

The Turkish Conquest.—In 1340 the Turks had begun to ravage the valley of the Maritza; in 1362 they captured Philippopolis, and in 1382 Sofia. In 1366 Ivan Shishman III., the last Bulgarian tsar, was compelled to declare himself the vassal of the sultan Murad I., and to send his sister to the harem of the conqueror. In 1389 the rout of the Servians, Bosnians and Croats on the famous field of Kossovo decided the fate of the Peninsula. Shortly afterwards Ivan Shishman was attacked by the Turks; and Trnovo, after a siege of three months, was captured, sacked and burnt in 1393. The fate of the

last Bulgarian sovereign is unknown : the national legend represents him as perishing in a battle near Samakov. Vidin, where Ivan's brother, Strazhimir, had established himself, was taken in 1396, and with its fall the last remnant of Bulgarian independence disappeared.

The five centuries of Turkish rule (1396–1878) form a dark epoch in Bulgarian history. The invaders carried fire and sword through the land ; towns, villages and monasteries were sacked and destroyed, and whole districts were converted into desolate wastes. The inhabitants of the plains fled to the mountains, where they founded new settlements. Many of the nobles embraced the creed of Islam, and were liberally rewarded for their apostasy ; others, together with numbers of the priests and people, took refuge across the Danube. All the regions formerly ruled by the Bulgarian tsars, including Macedonia and Thrace, were placed under the administration of a governor-general, styled the beylerbey of Rum-ili, residing at Sofia ; Bulgaria proper was divided into the sanjaks of Sofia, Nikopolis, Vidin, Silistria and Kiustendil. Only a small proportion of the people followed the example of the boyars in abandoning Christianity ; the conversion of the isolated communities now represented by the Pomaks took place at various intervals during the next three centuries. A new kind of feudal system replaced that of the boyars, and fiefs or *spahiliks* were conferred on the Ottoman chiefs and the renegade Bulgarian nobles. The Christian population was subjected to heavy imposts, the principal being the *haratch*, or capitation-tax, paid to the imperial treasury, and the tithe on agricultural produce, which was collected by the feudal lord. Among the most cruel forms of oppression was the requisitioning of young boys between the ages of ten and twelve, who were sent to Constantinople as recruits for the corps of janissaries. Notwithstanding the horrors which attended the Ottoman conquest, the condition of the peasantry during the first three centuries of Turkish government was scarcely worse than it had been under the tyrannical rule of the boyars. The contemptuous indifference with which the Turks regarded the Christian *rayas* was not altogether to the disadvantage of the subject race. Military service was not exacted from the Christians, no systematic effort was made to extinguish either their religion or their language, and within certain limits they were allowed to retain their ancient local administration and the jurisdiction of their clergy in regard to inheritances and family affairs. At the time of the conquest certain towns and villages, known as the *voïnitchki sela*, obtained important privileges which were not infringed till the 18th century ; on condition of furnishing contingents to the Turkish army or grooms for the sultan's horses they obtained exemption from most of the taxes and complete self-government under their *voïvodi* or chiefs. Some of them, such as Koprivshtitza in the Sredna Gora, attained great prosperity, which has somewhat declined since the establishment of the principality. While the Ottoman power was at its height the lot of the subject-races was far less intolerable than during the period of decadence, which began with the unsuccessful siege of Vienna in 1683. Their rights and privileges were respected, the law was enforced, commerce prospered, good roads were constructed, and the great caravans of the Ragusan merchants traversed the country. Down to the end of the 18th century there appears to have been only one serious attempt at revolt—that occasioned by the advance of Prince Sigismund Báthory into Walachia in 1595. A kind of guerilla warfare was, however, maintained in the mountains by the *haiduti*, or outlaws, whose exploits, like those of the Greek *klephts*, have been highly idealized in the popular folk-lore. As the power of the sultans declined anarchy spread through the Peninsula. In the earlier decades of the 18th century the Bulgarians suffered terribly from the ravages of the Turkish armies passing through the land during the wars with Austria. Towards its close their condition became even worse owing to the horrors perpetrated by the Krjalis, or troops of disbanded soldiers and desperadoes, who, in defiance of the Turkish authorities, roamed through the country, supporting themselves by plunder and committing every conceivable atrocity. After the peace of Belgrade (1737), by which Austria lost her conquests in the Peninsula, the Servians and Bulgarians began to look to Russia for deliverance, their hopes being encouraged by the treaty of Kuchuk Kaïnarji (1774), which foreshadowed the claim of Russia to protect the Orthodox Christians in the Turkish empire. In 1794 Pasvanoglu, one of the chiefs of the Krjalis, established himself as an independent sovereign at Vidin, putting to flight three large Turkish armies which were despatched against him. This adventurer possessed many remarkable qualities. He adorned Vidin with handsome buildings, maintained order, levied taxes and issued a separate coinage. He died in 1807. The memoirs of Sofronii, bishop of Vratza, present a vivid picture of the condition of Bulgaria at this time. " My diocese," he writes, " was laid desolate ; the villages disappeared—they had been burnt by the Krjalis and Pasvan's brigands ; the inhabitants were scattered far and wide over Walachia and other lands."

CHAPTER VI

THE NATIONAL REVIVAL

At the beginning of the 19th century the existence of the Bulgarian race was almost unknown in Europe, even to students of Slavonic literature. Disheartened by ages of oppression, isolated from Christendom by their geographical position, and cowed by the proximity of Constantinople, the Bulgarians took no collective part in the insurrectionary movement which resulted in the liberation of Servia and Greece. The Russian invasions of 1810 and 1828 only added to their sufferings, and great numbers of fugitives took refuge in Bessarabia, annexed by Russia under the treaty of Bucharest. But the long-dormant national spirit now began to awake under the influence of a literary revival. The precursors of the movement were Paisii, a monk of Mount Athos, who wrote a history of the Bulgarian tsars and saints (1762), and Bishop Sofronii, whose memoirs have been already mentioned. After 1824 several works written in modern Bulgarian began to appear, but the most important step was the foundation, in 1835, of the first Bulgarian school at Gabrovo. Within ten years at least 53 Bulgarian schools came into existence, and five Bulgarian printing-presses were at work. The literary movement led the way to a reaction against the influence and authority of the Greek clergy. The spiritual domination of the Greek patriarchate had tended more effectually than the temporal power of the Turks to the effacement of Bulgarian nationality. After the conquest of the Peninsula the Greek patriarch became the representative at the Sublime Porte of the *Rûm-millet*, the Roman nation, in which all the Christian nationalities were comprised. The independent patriarchate of Trnovo was suppressed ; that of Ochrida was subsequently Hellenized. The Phanariot clergy —unscrupulous, rapacious and corrupt—succeeded in monopolizing the higher ecclesiastical appointments and filled the parishes with Greek priests, whose schools, in which Greek was exclusively taught, were the only means of instruction open to the population. By degrees Greek became the language of the upper classes in all the Bulgarian towns, the Bulgarian language was written in Greek characters, and the illiterate peasants, though speaking the vernacular, called themselves Greeks. The Slavonic liturgy was suppressed in favour of the Greek, and in many places the old Bulgarian manuscripts, images, testaments and missals were committed to the flames. The patriots of the literary movement, recognizing in the patriarchate the most determined foe to a national revival, directed all their efforts to the abolition of Greek ecclesiastical ascendancy, and the restoration of the Bulgarian autonomous church. Some of the leaders went so far as to open negotiations with Rome, and an archbishop of the Uniate Bulgarian church was nominated by the pope. The struggle was prosecuted with the utmost tenacity for forty years. Incessant protests and memorials were addressed to the Porte, and every effort was made to undermine the position of the Greek bishops, some of whom were compelled to abandon their sees. At the same time no pains were spared to diffuse education and to stimulate the national sentiment. Various insurrectionary movements were attempted by the patriots Rakovski, Panayot Khitoff, Haji Dimitr, Stephen Karaja and others, but received little support from the mass of the people. The recognition of Bulgarian nationality was won by the pen, not the sword. The patriarchate at length found it necessary to offer some concessions, but these appeared illusory to the Bulgarians, and long and acrimonious discussions followed. Eventually the Turkish government intervened, and on the 28th of February 1870 a firman was issued establishing the Bulgarian exarchate, with

jurisdiction over fifteen dioceses, including Nish, Pirot and Veles; the other dioceses in dispute were to be added to these in case two-thirds of the Christian population so desired. The election of the first exarch was delayed till February 1872, owing to the opposition of the patriarch, who immediately afterwards excommunicated the new head of the Bulgarian church and all his followers. The official recognition now acquired tended to consolidate the Bulgarian nation and to prepare it for the political developments which were soon to follow. A great educational activity at once displayed itself in all the districts subjected to the new ecclesiastical power.

The Revolt of 1876.—Under the enlightened administration of Midhat Pasha (1864–1868) Bulgaria enjoyed comparative prosperity, but that remarkable man is not remembered with gratitude by the people owing to the severity with which he repressed insurrectionary movements. In 1861, 12,000 Crimean Tatars, and in 1864 a still larger number of Circassians from the Caucasus, were settled by the Turkish government on lands taken without compensation from the Bulgarian peasants. The Circassians, a lawless race of mountaineers, proved a veritable scourge to the population in their neighbourhood. In 1875 the insurrection in Bosnia and Herzegovina produced immense excitement throughout the Peninsula. The fanaticism of the Moslems was aroused, and the Bulgarians, fearing a general massacre of Christians, endeavoured to anticipate the blow by organizing a general revolt. The rising, which broke out prematurely at Koprivshtitza and Panagurishté in May 1876, was mainly confined to the sanjak of Philippopolis. Bands of bashi-bazouks were let loose throughout the district by the Turkish authorities, the Pomaks, or Moslem Bulgarians, and the Circassian colonists were called to arms, and a succession of horrors followed to which a parallel can scarcely be found in the history of the middle ages. The principal scenes of massacre were Panagurishté, Perushtitza, Bratzigovo and Batak; at the last-named town, according to an official British report, 5000 men, women and children were put to the sword by the Pomaks under Achmet Aga, who was decorated by the sultan for this exploit. Altogether some 15,000 persons were massacred in the district of Philippopolis, and fifty-eight villages and five monasteries were destroyed. Isolated risings which took place on the northern side of the Balkans were crushed with similar barbarity. These atrocities, which were first made known by an English journalist and an American consular official, were denounced by Gladstone in a celebrated pamphlet which aroused the indignation of Europe. The great powers remained inactive, but Servia declared war in the following month, and her army was joined by 2000 Bulgarian volunteers. A conference of the representatives of the powers, held at Constantinople towards the end of the year, proposed, among other reforms, the organization of the Bulgarian provinces, including the greater part of Macedonia, in two vilayets under Christian governors, with popular representation. These recommendations were practically set aside by the Porte, and in April 1877 Russia declared war. In the campaign which followed the Bulgarian volunteer contingent in the Russian army played an honourable part; it accompanied Gourko's advance over the Balkans, behaved with great bravery at Stara Zagora where it lost heavily and rendered valuable services in the defence of Shipka.

Treaties of San Stefano and Berlin.—The victorious advance of the Russian army to Constantinople was followed by the treaty of San Stefano (3rd March 1878), which realized almost to the full the national aspirations of the Bulgarian race. All the provinces of European Turkey in which the Bulgarian element predominated were now included in an autonomous principality, which extended from the Black Sea to the Albanian mountains, and from the Danube to the Aegean, enclosing Ochrida, the ancient capital of the Shishmans, Dibra and Kastoria, as well as the districts of Vranya and Pirot, and possessing a Mediterranean port at Kavala. The Dobrudja, notwithstanding its Bulgarian population, was not included in the new state, being reserved as compensation to Rumania for the Russian annexation of Bessarabia; Adrianople, Salonica and the Chalcidian peninsula were left to Turkey. The area thus delimited constituted three-fifths of the Balkan Peninsula, with a population of 4,000,000 inhabitants. The great powers, however, anticipating that this extensive territory would become a Russian dependency, intervened; and on the 13th of July of the same year was signed the treaty of Berlin, which in effect divided the "Big Bulgaria" of the treaty of San Stefano into three portions. The limits of the principality of Bulgaria, as then defined, and the autonomous province of Eastern Rumelia, have been already described; the remaining portion, including almost the whole of Macedonia and part of the vilayet of Adrianople, was left under Turkish administration. No special organization was provided for the districts thus abandoned; it was stipulated that laws similar to the organic law of Crete should be introduced into the various parts of Turkey in Europe, but this engagement was never carried out by the Porte. Vranya, Pirot and Nish were given to Servia, and the transference of the Dobrudja to Rumania was sanctioned. This artificial division of the Bulgarian nation could scarcely be regarded as possessing elements of permanence. It was provided that the prince of Bulgaria should be freely elected by the population, and confirmed by the Sublime Porte with the assent of the powers, and that, before his election, an assembly of Bulgarian notables, convoked at Trnovo, should draw up the organic law of the principality. The drafting of a constitution for Eastern Rumelia was assigned to a European commission.

The Constitution of Trnovo.—Pending the completion of their political organization, Bulgaria and Eastern Rumelia were occupied by Russian troops and administered by Russian officials. The assembly of notables, which met at Trnovo in 1879, was mainly composed of half-educated peasants, who from the first displayed an extremely democratic spirit, in which they proceeded to manipulate the very liberal constitution submitted to them by Prince Dondukov-Korsakov, the Russian governor-general. The long period of Turkish domination had effectually obliterated all social distinctions, and the radical element, which now formed into a party under Tzankoff and Karaveloff, soon gave evidence of its predominance. Manhood suffrage, a single chamber, payment of deputies, the absence of a property qualification for candidates, and the prohibition of all titles and distinctions, formed salient features in the constitution now elaborated. The organic statute of Eastern Rumelia was largely modelled on the Belgian constitution. The governor-general, nominated for five years by the sultan with the approbation of the powers, was assisted by an assembly, partly representative, partly composed of *ex-officio* members; a permanent committee was entrusted with the preparation of legislative measures and the general supervision of the administration, while a council of six "directors" fulfilled the duties of a ministry.

Prince Alexander.—On the 29th of April 1879 the assembly at Trnovo, on the proposal of Russia, elected as first sovereign of Bulgaria Prince Alexander of Battenberg, a member of the grand ducal house of Hesse and a nephew of the tsar Alexander II. Arriving in Bulgaria on the 7th of July, Prince Alexander, then in his twenty-third year, found all the authority, military and civil, in Russian hands. The history of the earlier portion of his reign is marked by two principal features—a strong Bulgarian reaction against Russian tutelage and a vehement struggle against the autocratic institutions which the young ruler, under Russian guidance, endeavoured to inaugurate. Both movements were symptomatic of the determination of a strong-willed and egoistic race, suddenly liberated from secular oppression, to enjoy to the full the moral and material privileges of liberty. In the assembly at Trnovo the popular party had adopted the watchword "Bulgaria for the Bulgarians," and a considerable anti-Russian contingent was included in its ranks. Young and inexperienced, Prince Alexander, at the suggestion of the Russian consul-general, selected his first ministry from a small group of "Conservative" politicians whose views were in conflict with those of the parliamentary majority, but he was soon compelled to form a "Liberal" administration under Tzankoff and Karaveloff. The Liberals, once in power, initiated a violent campaign against foreigners in general and the Russians in particular; they passed an alien law, and ejected foreigners from every lucrative position. The Russians made a vigorous resistance, and a state of chaos ensued. Eventually the prince, finding good government impossible, obtained the consent of the tsar to a change of the constitution, and assumed absolute authority on the 9th of May 1881. The Russian general Ernroth was appointed sole minister, and charged with the duty of holding elections for the Grand Sobranye, to which the right of revising the constitution appertained. So successfully did he discharge his mission that the national representatives, almost without debate, suspended the constitution and invested the prince with absolute powers for a term of seven years (July 1881). A period of Russian government followed under Generals Skobelev and Kaulbars, who were specially despatched from Petrograd to enhance the authority of the prince. Their administration, however, tended to a contrary result, and the prince, finding himself reduced to impotence, opened negotiations with the Bulgarian leaders and effected a coalition of all parties on the basis of a restoration of the constitution. The generals, who had made an unsuccessful attempt to remove the prince, withdrew; the constitution of Trnovo was restored by proclamation (19th September 1883), and a coalition ministry was formed under Tzankoff. Prince Alexander, whose relations with the court of Petrograd had become less cordial since the death of his uncle, the tsar Alexander II., in 1881, now incurred the serious displeasure of Russia, and the breach was soon widened by the part which he played in encouraging the national aspirations of the Bulgarians.

Union with Eastern Rumelia.—In Eastern Rumelia, where the Bulgarian population never ceased to protest against the division of the race, political life had developed on the same lines as in the principality. Among the politicians two parties had come into existence —the Conservatives or self-styled "Unionists," and the Radicals, derisively called by their opponents "Kazioni" or treasury-seekers; both were equally desirous of bringing about the union with the principality. Neither party, however, while in power would risk the sweets of office by embarking in a hazardous adventure. It was reserved for the Kazioni, under their famous leader Zakharia Stoyánoff, who in early life had been a shepherd, to realize the national programme. In 1885 the Unionists were in office, and their opponents lost no time in organizing a conspiracy for the overthrow of the governor-general, Krstovitch Pasha. Their designs were facilitated by the circumstance that Turkey had abstained from sending troops into the province. Having previously assured themselves of Prince Alexander's acquiescence, they seized the governor-general and proclaimed the union with Bulgaria (18th September). The revolution took place without bloodshed, and a few days later Prince Alexander entered Philippopolis amid immense enthusiasm. His position

now became precarious. The powers were scandalized at the infraction of the Berlin Treaty; Great Britain alone showed sympathy, while Russia denounced the union and urged the Porte to reconquer the revolted province—both powers thus reversing their respective attitudes at the congress of Berlin.

War with Servia.—The Turkish troops were massed at the frontier, and Servia, hoping to profit by the difficulties of her neighbour, suddenly declared war (14th November). At the moment of danger the Russian officers, who filled all the higher posts in the Bulgarian army, were withdrawn by order of the tsar. In these critical circumstances Prince Alexander displayed considerable ability and resource, and the nation gave evidence of hitherto unsuspected qualities. Contrary to general expectation, the Bulgarian army, imperfectly equipped and led by subaltern officers, successfully resisted the Servian invasion. After brilliant victories at Slivnitza (19th November) and Tsaribrod, Prince Alexander crossed the frontier and captured Pirot (27th November), but his farther progress was arrested by the intervention of Austria. The treaty of Bucharest followed (3rd of March 1886), declaring, in a single clause, the restoration of peace. Servia, notwithstanding her aggression, escaped a war indemnity, but the union with eastern Rumelia was practically secured. By the convention of Top-Khané (5th April) Prince Alexander was recognized by the sultan as governor-general of eastern Rumelia; a personal union only was sanctioned, but in effect the organic statute disappeared and the countries were administratively united. These military and diplomatic successes, which invested the prince with the attributes of a national hero, quickened the decision of Russia to effect his removal. An instrument was found in the discontent of several of his officers, who considered themselves slighted in the distribution of rewards, and a conspiracy was formed in which Tzankoff, Karaveloff (the prime minister), Archbishop Clement, and other prominent persons were implicated. On the night of the 21st of August the prince was seized in his palace by several officers and compelled, under menace of death, to sign his abdication; he was then hurried to the Danube at Rakhovo and transported to Russian soil at Reni. This violent act met with instant disapproval on the part of the great majority of the nation. Stamboloff, the president of the assembly, and Colonel Mutkuroff, commandant of the troops at Philippopolis, initiated a counter-revolution; the provisional government set up by the conspirators immediately fell, and a few days later the prince, who had been liberated by the Russian authorities, returned to the country amid every demonstration of popular sympathy and affection. His arrival forestalled that of a Russian imperial commissioner, who had been appointed to proceed to Bulgaria. He now committed the error of addressing a telegram to the tsar in which he offered to resign his crown into the hands of Russia. This unfortunate step, by which he ignored the suzerainty of Turkey, and represented Bulgaria as a Russian dependency, exposed him to a stern rebuff, and fatally compromised his position. The national leaders, after obtaining a promise from the Russian representative at Sofia that Russia would abstain from interference in the internal affairs of the country, consented to his departure; on the 8th of September he announced his abdication, and on the following day he left Bulgaria.

The Regency.—A regency was now formed, in which the prominent figure was Stamboloff, the most remarkable man whom modern Bulgaria has produced. A series of attempts to throw the country into anarchy were firmly dealt with, and the Grand Sobranye was summoned to elect a new prince. The candidature of the prince of Mingrelia was now set up by Russia, and General Kaulbars was despatched to Bulgaria to make known to the people the wishes of the tsar. He vainly endeavoured to postpone the convocation of the Grand Sobranye in order to gain time for the restoration of Russian influence, and proceeded on an electoral tour through the country. The failure of his mission was followed by the withdrawal of the Russian representatives from Bulgaria. The Grand Sobranye, which assembled at Trnovo, offered the crown to Prince Valdemar of Denmark, brother-in-law of the tsar, but the honour was declined, and an anxious period ensued, during which a deputation visited the principal capitals of Europe with the twofold object of winning sympathy for the cause of Bulgarian independence and discovering a suitable candidate for the throne.

CHAPTER VII

ACCESSION OF PRINCE FERDINAND

Prince Ferdinand.—On the 7th of July 1887 the Grand Sobranye unanimously elected Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, a grandson, maternally, of King Louis Philippe. The new prince, who was twenty-six years of age, was at this time a lieutenant in the Austrian army. Undeterred by the difficulties of the international situation and the distracted condition of the country, he accepted the crown, and took over the government on the 14th of August at Trnovo. His arrival, which was welcomed with enthusiasm, put an end to a long and critical interregnum, but the dangers which menaced Bulgarian independence were far from disappearing. Russia declared the newly-elected sovereign a usurper ; the other powers, in deference to her susceptibilities, declined to recognize him, and the grand vizier informed him that his presence in Bulgaria was illegal. Numerous efforts were made by the partisans of Russia to disturb internal tranquillity, and Stamboloff, who became prime minister on the 1st of September, found it necessary to govern with a strong hand. A raid led by the Russian captain Nabokov was repulsed ; brigandage, maintained for political purposes, was exterminated ; the bishops of the Holy Synod, who, at the instigation of Clement, refused to pay homage to the prince, were forcibly removed from Sofia ; a military conspiracy organized by Major Panitza was crushed, and its leader executed. An attempt to murder the energetic prime minister resulted in the death of his colleague Beltcheff, and shortly afterwards Dr Vlkovitch, the Bulgarian representative at Constantinople, was assassinated. While contending with unscrupulous enemies at home, Stamboloff pursued a successful policy abroad. Excellent relations were established with Turkey and Rumania, valuable concessions were twice extracted from the Porte in regard to the Bulgarian episcopate in Macedonia, and loans were concluded with foreign financiers on comparatively favourable terms. His overbearing character, however, increased the number of his opponents, and alienated the goodwill of the prince.

In the spring of 1903 Prince Ferdinand married Princess Marie-Louise of Bourbon-Parma, whose family insisted on the condition that the issue of the marriage should be brought up in the Roman Catholic faith. In view of the importance of establishing a dynasty, Stamboloff resolved on the unpopular course of altering the clause of the constitution which required that the heir to the throne should belong to the Orthodox Church, and the Grand Sobranye, which was convoked at Trnovo in the summer, gave effect to this decision. The death of Prince Alexander, which took place in the autumn, and the birth of an heir, tended to strengthen the position of Prince Ferdinand, who now assumed a less compliant attitude towards the prime minister. In 1894 Stamboloff resigned office ; a ministry was formed under Dr Stoïloff, and Prince Ferdinand inaugurated a policy of conciliation towards Russia with a view to obtaining his recognition by the powers. A Russophil reaction followed, large numbers of political refugees returned to Bulgaria, and Stamboloff, exposed to the vengeance of his enemies, was assassinated in the streets of Sofia (15th July 1895).

The prince's plans were favoured by the death of the tsar Alexander III. in November 1894, and the reconciliation was practically effected by the conversion of his eldest son, Prince Boris, to the Orthodox faith (14th February 1896). The powers having signified their assent, he was nominated by the sultan prince of Bulgaria and governor-general of eastern Rumelia (14th March). Russian influence now became

predominant in Bulgaria, but the cabinet of Petrograd wisely abstained from interfering in the internal affairs of the principality. In February 1896 Russia proposed the reconciliation of the Greek and Bulgarian churches and the removal of the exarch to Sofia. The project, which involved a renunciation of the exarch's jurisdiction in Macedonia, excited strong opposition in Bulgaria, and was eventually dropped. The death of Princess Marie-Louise (30th January 1899), caused universal regret in the country. In the same month the Stoïloff government, which had weakly tampered with the Macedonian movement and had thrown the finances into disorder, resigned, and a ministry under Grekoff succeeded, which endeavoured to mend the economic situation by means of a foreign loan. The loan, however, fell through, and in October a new government was formed under Ivanchoff and Radoslavoff. This, in its turn, was replaced by a *cabinet d'affaires* under General Petroff (January 1901).

In the following March Karaveloff for the third time became prime minister. His efforts to improve the financial situation, which now became alarming, proved abortive, and in January 1902 a Tzankovist cabinet was formed under Daneff, who succeeded in obtaining a foreign loan. Russian influence now became predominant, and in the autumn the grand-duke Nicholas, General Ignatiev, and a great number of Russian officers were present at the consecration of a Russian church and monastery in the Shipka pass. But the appointment of Mgr. Firmilian, a Servian prelate, to the important see of Uskub at the instance of Russia, the suspected designs of that power on the ports of Varna and Burgas, and her unsympathetic attitude in regard to the Macedonian Question, tended to diminish her popularity and that of the government. A cabinet crisis was brought about in May 1903, by the efforts of the Russian party to obtain control of the army, and the Stambolovists returned to power under General Petroff. A violent recrudescence of the Macedonian agitation took place in the autumn of 1902 ; at the suggestion of Russia the leaders were imprisoned, but the movement nevertheless gained force, and in August 1903 a revolt broke out in the vilayet of Monastir, subsequently spreading to the districts of northern Macedonia and Adrianople. The barbarities committed by the Turks in repressing the insurrection caused great exasperation in the principality ; the reserves were partially mobilized, and the country was brought to the brink of war. In pursuance of the policy of Stamboloff, the Petroff government endeavoured to inaugurate friendly relations with Turkey, and a Turco-Bulgarian convention was signed (8th April 1904) which, however, proved of little practical value.

The outrages committed by numerous Greek bands in Macedonia led to reprisals on the Greek population in Bulgaria in the summer of 1906, and the town of Anchialo was partially destroyed. On the 6th of November in that year Petroff resigned, and Petkoff the leader of the Stambolovist party, formed a ministry. The prime minister, a statesman of undoubted patriotism but of overbearing character, was assassinated on the 11th of March 1907 by a youth who had been dismissed from a post in one of the agricultural banks, and the cabinet was reconstituted under Gudeff, a member of the same party.

Declaration of Independence.—During the thirty years of its existence the principality had made rapid and striking progress. Its inhabitants, among whom a strong sense of nationality had grown up, were naturally anxious to escape from the restrictions imposed by the treaty of Berlin. That Servia should be an independent state, while Bulgaria, with its greater economic and military resources, remained tributary to the Sultan, was an anomaly which all classes resented ; and although the Ottoman suzerainty was little more than a constitutional fiction, and the tribute imposed in 1878 was never paid, the Bulgarians were almost unanimous in their desire to end a system which made their country the vassal of a Moslem state notorious for its maladministration and corruption. This desire was strengthened by the favourable reception accorded to Prince Ferdinand when he visited Vienna in February 1908, and by the so-called " Geshoff incident," *i.e.* the exclusion of M. Geshoff, the Bulgarian agent, from a dinner given by Tewfik Pasha, the Ottoman minister for foreign affairs, to the ministers of all the sovereign states represented at Constantinople (12th of September 1908). This was interpreted as an insult to the Bulgarian nation, and as the explanation offered by the grand vizier was unsatisfactory, M. Geshoff was recalled to Sofia. At this time the bloodless revolution in Turkey seemed likely to bring about a fundamental change in the settled policy of Bulgaria. For many years past Bulgarians had hoped that their own orderly and progressive government, which had contrasted so strongly with the evils of Turkish rule, would entitle them to consideration, and perhaps to an accession of territory, when the time arrived for a definite settlement of the Macedonian Question. Now, however, the reforms introduced or foreshadowed by the Young Turkish party threatened to deprive Bulgaria of any pretext for future intervention ; there was nothing to be gained by further acquiescence in the conditions laid down at Berlin. An opportunity for effective action occurred within a fortnight of M. Geshoff's recall, when a strike broke out on those sections of the Eastern Rumelian railways which were owned by Turkey and leased to the Oriental Railways Company. The Bulgarians alleged that during the strike Turkish troops were able to travel on the lines which were closed to all other traffic, and that this fact constituted a danger to their own autonomy. The government therefore seized the railway, in defiance of European opinion, and in spite of

the protests of the suzerain power and the Oriental Railways Company. The bulk of the Turkish army was then in Asia, and the new régime was not yet firmly established, while the Bulgarian government were probably aware that Russia would not intervene, and that Austria-Hungary intended to annex Bosnia and Herzegovina, and thus incidentally to divert attention from their own violation of the treaty of Berlin. On the 5th of October Prince Ferdinand publicly proclaimed Bulgaria, united since the 6th of September 1885 (*i.e.* including Eastern Rumelia), an independent kingdom. This declaration was read aloud by the king in the church of the Forty Martyrs at Trnovo, the ancient capital of the Bulgarian tsars. The Porte immediately protested to the powers, but agreed to accept an indemnity. In February 1909 the Russian government proposed to advance to Bulgaria the difference between the £4,800,000 claimed by Turkey and the £1,520,000 which Bulgaria undertook to pay. A preliminary Russo-Turkish protocol was signed on the 16th of March, and in April, after the final agreement had been concluded, the independence of Bulgaria was recognized by the powers. Of the indemnity, £1,680,000 was paid on account of the Eastern Rumelian railways; the allocation of this sum between Turkey and the Oriental railways was submitted to arbitration.[1]

[1] For later events see Appendices, p. 177.

3. MONTENEGRO

CHAPTER I

PHYSICAL FEATURES AND PRODUCTS

MONTENEGRO is a country of south-eastern Europe, forming an independent kingdom situated upon the western side of the Balkan Peninsula, and possessing a small coast-line on the Adriatic Sea. The name is the Venetian variant of the Italian *Monte Nero*, and together with the Albanian *Mal Esiya*, the Turkish *Kara-dagh*, and the Greek *Mavro Vouno*, reproduces the native, or Serb, *Tzrnágora*, "the Black Mountain"; it is derived from the dark appearance of Mount Lovchen, the culminating summit of Montenegro proper, of which the northern and eastern declivities, those which are viewed from the country itself, are in shadow for the greater part of the day.[1] The dusky pine forests, which once clothed the mountain and of which remnants exist on its northern slope, contributed to its sombre aspect. Up to the end of the 15th century, when its territory became restricted to the mountainous districts immediately north and east of Mount Lovchen, the kingdom was known as the Zenta or Zeta, but the name Tzrnagora was probably used locally in this region from the time of the earliest Slavonic settlements.

Montenegro extends between 41° 55′ and 43° 21′ N., and between 18° 30′ and 20° E.; its greatest length from north to south is about 100 m.; its greatest breadth from east to west about 80 m. It is bounded by the Adriatic on the S., the seaboard extending for 28 m.; by the Primore, a strip of the Dalmatian littoral, on the S.W. and W.; by the Austrian (formerly Turkish) provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina on the N.W. and N.; by the Ottoman empire both in the sanjak of Novibazar, on the N. and N.E., and also in the vilayets of Kossovo and Scutari on the N.E., E. and S.E. Its area, as officially estimated after the treaty of Berlin had been enforced in 1880, amounts to 3255 sq. m., or considerably less than half the size of Wales. The present frontier, which was not finally delimited till 1881, ascends the Boyana river from its mouth as far as Lake Sass (Shas), then follows the river Megured to the summit of Mount Bratovitza, reaching Lake Scutari at a spot opposite the island of Goritza Topal. Crossing the lake north-east to a point a little south-east of Plavnitza, and leaving the territory of the Hoti and Klementi tribes to the south, and the districts of Kutchka Kraina to the north, it passes north of the districts of Plava and Gusinye and reaches the western end of the Mokra Planina, where it turns to the north-west. After crossing the Lim at its junction with the Skula, it coincides with the old frontier for some distance; then reaching the Tara at Maikovatz, it follows the course of that river to its junction with the Piva: turning southwards, it reaches the old frontier once more at Klobuk, and, passing between the district of Grahovo and the Krivoshian Mountains, approaches to within a few miles of the Bocche di Cattaro: then, following the maritime mountain ridges for a considerable distance, it rejoins the coast a little south of Spizza.

Physical Features.—Montenegro, which forms the meeting-point of the Dalmatian, Bosnian and Albanian ranges, seems at first a mere chaos of mountains. It is, how-

[1] Cf. the similarly-named *Tzrna Planina* in eastern Montenegro, *Tcherni Vrkh*, the culminating summit of Mount Vitosh in Bulgaria, and *Mavro Vouno* in the island of Salamis. Various other explanations of the name Montenegro, mostly of a fanciful character, have been put forward.

ever, naturally divided into three parts, each with its own character. (1) Fertile and well-watered plains, not unlike those of Lombardy, border the river Zeta, and after its junction with the Moratcha extend along the course of that river to Lake Scutari. A fringe of similar lowland forms the maritime plain extending between the Sutorman range and the mouth of the Boyana. (2) Westward, under the shadow of Lovchen, is the Katunska, or "Shepherds' Huts," the cradle of Montenegrin liberty. This region presents a surface of hard crystalline rock, bare and calcined, with strata sinking to the south-west at an angle often of 70°. The rocks have been split by atmospheric agencies into huge prismatic blocks, and the cracks have been gradually worn into fissures several fathoms deep. In some places the interior of the stony mass is hollowed out into galleries and caves, some of great length; during the rainy season subterranean landslips frequently produce local earthquakes, extending over an area of 10 or 12 m. The small basins of Cettigne and Niegush are practically the only cultivable districts in this region. (3) Over the entire north stretch the massive mountain chains which link the Herzegovinian Alps to those of Albania, the scenery recalling that of Switzerland or the Tirol. In the north-west there are finely wooded tracts extending north of Nikshitch to the Dormitor mountain group. The Dormitor district contains rich grassy uplands dotted with numerous small lakes, from which it derives its name of Yezera (the lakes); the rivers Tara and Piva flow through magnificent gorges clothed with rich forests, and unite near the extreme north of the frontier. On the north-east are the high but rounded Brda Mountains, covered with virgin forest or Alpine pastures, and broken here and there by jagged dolomitic peaks. In the district of the Vasoyevitchi, which surrounds the little town of Andriyevitza, is the fine double peak of Kom, and, a little to the south-west, the summit of Maglitch, commanding a magnificent view over the wooded valley of Gusinye to the great Prokletia range in Albania.[1] The contrast between the rich undulating landscape of the northern regions and the sterile calcined rocks of Montenegro proper is very remarkable.

The Montenegrin mountain system is divided into four masses: (1) the group enclosed by the Tara and Piva rivers with Dormitor, one of the highest mountains in the peninsula (9146 ft.), Yablonov Vrkh (7113 ft.), and the Vrkhove Pochoratz (6601 ft.); (2) the group between the Zeta and the Moratcha with Ostri-Kuk (7546 ft.), Vlasulya (7533 ft.), Brnik (6860 ft.) and Maganik (6621 ft.); (3) the ranges between the Moratcha and Tara with Sto (7323 ft.) and Gradishte (7156 ft.); and (4) those between the upper Tara and the upper Lim with Kom, the second highest mountain in the country (Kom Kutchki, 8032 ft., Kom Vasoyevitchki, 7946 ft.), separating the districts of the Vasoyevitchi on the north-east from that of the Kutchi on the south-west, and Visi tor (6936 ft.) on the frontier. In Montenegro proper the only prominent summit is Lovchen (5653 ft.), between Cettigne and the western frontier. Between Lake Scutari and the sea is the Sutorman range with the fine pyramidal summit of Rumiya (5148 ft.) overhanging Antivari. The prevailing formations of the north and east are Palaeozoic sandstones and schists, with underlying trap. Throughout Montenegro the following have been identified: (1) Palaeozoic schists, (2) Wirfen strata of Lower Trias, (3) Trap of the Palaeozoic and Wirfen strata, (4) Triassic limestone, (5) Jurassic limestone, (6) Cretaceous limestone, (7) Flysch, in part certainly Eocene, (8) Neogenie or younger Tertiary formations.

The watershed between the Adriatic and the Black Sea crosses the country from west to east in a very irregular line, the southern districts being drained by the Zeta-Moratcha river system, which finds its way to the Adriatic by Lake Scutari and the Boyana, while the streams from the northern districts form the headwaters of the Drina, which reaches the Danube by way of the Save. The Zeta, rising in Lake Slano, near Nikshitch, is remarkable for its subterranean passage beneath a mountain range 1000 ft. high. At Ponor, not far from that town, the water vanishes in a deep chasm, reappearing at a distance of several miles on the other side of the mountains. It whole course to its junction with the Moratcha is about 30 m. Rising in the Yavorye Planina, the Moratcha sweeps through mountain gorges till it reaches the plain of Podgoritza; then for a space it almost disappears among the pebbles and other alluvial deposits, nor does it again show a current of any considerable volume till it approaches Lake Scutari. In the neighbourhood of Duklé[2] and Leskopolye it flows through a precipitous ravine from 50 to 100 ft. high. In the dry season it is navigable from the lake to Zhabliak. The whole course is about 60 m. Of the left-hand tributaries of the Moratcha the Sem or Tzem deserves to be mentioned for the magnificent cañon through which it flows between Most Tamarui and Dinosha. On the one side rise the mountains of the Kutchi territory, on the other the immense flanks of the Prokletia range—the walls of the gorge varying from 2000 to 4000 ft. of vertical height. Lower down the stream the rocky banks approach so close that it is possible to leap across without trouble. The Sem rises in northern Albania, and has a length of 70 m. The Rieka issues full-formed from an immense cave south-east of Cettigne and falls into Lake Scutari. The three tributaries of the Drina which belong in part to Montenegro are the Piva, the Tara, and the

[1] This mountain must be distinguished from the higher Maglitch (7699 ft.), on the northern frontier, near the junction of the rivers Tara and Piva.

[2] Duklea is the name still borne by the ruins of the Roman Doclea, often, but wrongly, written Dioclea, from its association with the Emperor Diocletian.

Lim, respectively 55, 95 and 140 m. in length. The Tara forms the northern boundary of the kingdom for more than 50 m., but the Lim flows beyond the border after the first 30 m. of its course. The western half of Lake Scutari, or Skodra, belongs to Montenegro; the eastern, with Scutari itself, to Albania. It is a magnificent sheet of water, measuring about 135 sq. m., with an average depth of two to three fathoms. The northern end is studded with picturesque islands. The level of Lake Scutari underwent several changes in the 19th century; notably when the Drin, an Albanian river, which before 1830 entered the Adriatic near San Giovanni di Medua, changed its course so as to join the Boyana just below its exit from the lake. This raised the level of the lake, flooding the lower valleys of its tributary streams and permanently enlarging its area. A few small lakes are scattered among the mountains, and it is evident that their number was formerly much greater. Montenegro proper (*i.e.* the departments of Katunska, Rietchka and Lieshanska) is almost absolutely waterless, the only stream being the Rieka, which probably drains the Cettigne basin by an underground outlet. Its lower course is practically an inlet from Lake Scutari, and is navigable up to the town of Rieka. The upland plain of Cettigne, now waterless, was doubtless the bed of a lake at no very distant (geological) period; it is still sometimes flooded after heavy rains. The scarcity of water largely contributed to the successful defence of the country against Turkish invasion: the few springs are hidden in deep crannies among the rocks, and the inhabitants are accustomed to preserve melted snow for use during the summer. On the other hand, the Brda[1] and north-eastern districts are abundantly watered. The maritime district possesses two small streams.

Climate.—The climate generally resembles that of northern Albania; it is severe in the higher regions, and comparatively mild in the valleys, while in the maritime districts of Antivari and Dulcigno it may be compared with that of central Italy. The mean annual temperature is about 58° F. Snow lies for most of the year on many heights, and in some of the darker gorges it is never thawed. The high basin of Cettigne (2093 ft.) is deeply covered with snow during the winter months, and the capital is sometimes almost inaccessible; in summer the days are hot, but the nights are cool and frequently chilly. The climate is generally healthy except in a few marshy districts.

Flora and Fauna.—The Alpine vegetation of the summits gives way to pine forests in the sub-Alpine zone (about 6000 ft.); below these the beech, and then the oak, the walnut, the wild pear, and wild plum make their appearance; the fig-tree, the mulberry, and the vine grow in the middle Zeta and Moratcha valleys, the myrtle, orange, laurel and olive in the lower Moratcha region, and more abundantly in the Tzrmnitza and maritime districts. In the forest districts the beech is the prevailing tree up to a height of about 5000 ft. The chestnut forms little groves in the country between the sea and Lake Scutari, but never ascends more than 1000 ft. Pomegranate bushes grow wild, and in many parts of the south cover the foot of the hills with dense thickets, the crimson blossoms of which are one of the special charms of the spring landscapes. The leaves of the sumach (*Rhus cotinus*), which flourishes in the warmer districts, are exported for use in dye-works; the *Pyrethrum cinerariaefolium* supplies material for the manufacture of insect-powder; the fruit of the wild plum (*Cornus mascula*), as well as the grape, is employed for the production of *raki* or *rakiya*, a mild spirit, which is a favourite beverage with the people. Bears are still found in the higher forests; wolves, and especially foxes, over a much wider area. A few chamois still roam on the loftiest summits, the roebuck is not infrequent in the backwoods, the wild boar may be met with in the same district, and the hare is abundant wherever the ground is covered with herbage. There are one or two species of snakes in the country, including the poisonous Illyrian viper (*Vipera ammodytes*). Esculent frogs, tree frogs, the common tortoise, and various kinds of lizards are all common. Scorpions and numerous reptiles infest the arid rocks of the Katunska. The list of birds includes golden eagles and vultures, twelve species of falcons, several species of owls, nightingales, larks, buntings, hoopoes, partridges, herons, pelicans, ducks (ten species), nightjars, &c. Immense flocks of waterfowl haunt the upper reaches of Lake Scutari. The rivers abound with trout, tench, carp and eels; the trout of the Moratcha are especially fine. More important from an economic point of view is the *scoranze* (*Leuciscus alburnus*: Servian *uklieva*), a kind of sardine, which supplies an article of food and merchandise to a considerable portion of the population. The fish, which enter the Rieka inlet of Lake Scutari during the winter, are taken with nets during a few weeks in the spring, when the fishing season is inaugurated with a religious service; they are salted and exported in large quantities to Trieste and the Dalmatian coast. The annual take is valued at £4000. The sea-fisheries are of less value. As regards mineral resources, traces of iron, copper and coal are said to exist; there is a natural petroleum spring in the neighbourhood of Virbazar.

Agriculture and Stock-farming.—Except in the lowlands, which serve as the granary of Montenegro, furnishing wheat, maize, barley, rye, potatoes and capsicums, there is little tillage. Methods and implements are alike primitive. In the Katunska the peasants are glad to enclose the smallest spaces of the fertile red soil which is left after rain in the crevices

[1] The name *Brda* (literally "mountains") signifies in ordinary speech the mountain-group east of the Zeta which was incorporated in the principality in 1796. It figures in the prince's title, but is not otherwise used in official documents.

of the rocks, and one may see harvests only a few yards square. The vineyards produce excellent grapes, but wine production, which might become an important industry, is at present limited to home consumption. Tobacco is largely cultivated, especially in the neighbourhood of Podgoritza; the annual produce amounts to 550,000 lb. Stock-raising is more largely carried on than agriculture. In the north droves of swine fatten on the mast of the beech woods; goats and large flocks of sheep, celebrated for their thick fleeces, thrive on the high pastures and the lower slopes afford excellent grazing for larger stock. The native breed of cattle is small, but among other efforts made to improve it a stock-farm is maintained by Prince Nicholas near Nikshitch. The horses, as elsewhere in the Balkan Peninsula, are diminutive, wiry and intelligent. Bee-keeping is practised in the Kutchi districts, and mulberries are grown for silkworms.

Commerce and Industries.—The exports, valued at £80,265 in 1906, include cattle (large and small), smoked and salted meat known as *castradina*, cheese, undressed hides, *scoranze*, sumach, pyrethrum, tobacco and wool. The imports, valued in the same year at £239,505, consist mainly of manufactured articles, such as iron utensils and weapons, soap, candles, &c., and colonial products. In 1904, when Montenegro renounced its commercial treaties, the old 8 % *ad valorem* duty levied on imports was in many case raised to 25 %. This caused much discontent among the people, who had been growing steadily poorer since 1900; and many families emigrated. The exportation of cattle is greatly hindered by the high tariff imposed on the Austrian frontier, which is productive of much illicit trading. There are practically no manufactures: the men disdain industrial employment, while the women are occupied by household duties or work in the fields. A brewery and a cloth factory, however, exist at Nikshitch, a soda-water factory at Cettigne, and an olive-oil refinery at Antivari. The coarser cloth worn by the peasants is home-made; the finer kind worn by the wealthier classes is imported.

Communications.—The progress of trade and the development of the natural resources of the country must largely depend on improved means of communication. In this direction considerable progress has already been achieved. Montenegro possessed in 1907 228 m. of excellent carriage roads, admirably engineered and maintained. The remarkable zigzag road from Cattaro to Niegush and Cettigne was completed in 1881; it was afterwards prolonged to Rieka, Podgoritza, Danilovgrad (where a fine bridge across the Zeta was erected in 1870), and Nikshitch. Another road connects Podgoritza with its port, Plavnitza, on Lake Scutari; a third runs from Antivari to Rieka, and unites the sea-coasts with the richest districts of the interior. The ports of Antivari and Dulcigno are insufficiently sheltered, but are capable of considerable improvement; both are places of call for the Austrian Lloyd steamers, and a regular service between Antivari and Bari on the Italian coast is maintained by the "Puglia" Steamship Company. The Boyana is navigable by sea-going vessels as far as Oboti (12½ m. from its mouth), where cargoes from Scutari must be transferred to small river craft. Important harbour works were inaugurated in 1905 at Antivari by the Italo-Montenegrin *Compagnia d'Antivari*, which in the same year began the construction of a railway from that port to Virbazar on Lake Scutari. Four steamers belonging to the same company ply on the lake. Postal and telegraphic communication is fairly complete. There were, in 1906, 16 post offices and 20 telegraph stations, with 412 miles of wire. The number of letters posted in that year was 91,250. The telegraph is much used by the people: the number of telegrams sent in 1906 was 54,750.

CHAPTER II

POPULATION AND GOVERNMENT

Population.—In 1882 the population of Montenegro was estimated as low as 160,000 by Schwartz. A more usual estimate is 230,000. According, however, to information officially furnished at Cettigne, the total number of inhabitants in 1900 was 311,564, of whom 293,527 belonged to the Orthodox Church ; 12,493 were Moslems and 5544 were Roman Catholics ; 71,528, or 23 %, were literate and 240,036, or 77 %, were illiterate. The total number in 1907 was officially given as 282,000. The population is densest in the fertile eastern districts ; Montenegro proper is sparsely inhabited. Emigration is greatly increasing, especially to America ; the number of emigrants is given as 6674 in 1905 and 4346 in 1906. The bulk of the inhabitants belong to the Serbo-Croatian branch of the Slavonic race. There were about 5000 Albanians resident in the country in 1900, besides a small colony of gipsies, numbering about 800, a few of whom have abandoned their nomadic life and settled on the soil. The Moslems, whose thrift and industry have won encouragement from the Crown, greatly decreased for some years after 1880 owing to emigration. The capital of Montenegro is Cettigne (3200 inhabitants in 1900 ; 5138 in 1907). The chief commercial centres are Podgoritza (12,347) and Nikshitch (6872), with the ports of Antivari (2717) and Dulcigno (5166). Danilovgrad (1226) on the Zeta was founded in 1871 by Prince Nicholas and named after his predecessor, Danilo II. In the vicinity is Orialuka, the prince's palace, with its mulberry nurseries. Spuzh (1000), a little lower on the east bank of the Zeta, possesses a fortified acropolis. Niegush or Nyegosh (1893), on the road from Cettigne to Cattaro, is the ancestral abode of the ruling family, which originally came from Niegush in Herzegovina. Zhabliak (1200), near Lake Scutari, was the capital until late in the 15th century. It was a Venetian stronghold. Rieka (1768), near the northern end of Lake Scutari, derives some commercial importance from its position. Grahovo (1000), in the extreme west, is famous for the Turkish defeats of 1851 and 1876. Other small towns are Kolashin, Virbazar and Andriyevitza.

The Montenegrins present all the characteristics of a primitive race as yet but little affected by modern civilization. Society is still in that early stage at which personal valour is regarded as the highest virtue, and warlike prowess constitutes the principal, if not the only, claim to pre-eminence. The chiefs are distinguished by the splendour of their arms and the richness of their costume ; women occupy a subject position ; the physically infirm often adopt the profession of minstrels and sing the exploits of their countrymen like the bards of the Homeric age. A race of warriors, the Montenegrins are brave, proud, chivalrous and patriotic ; on the other hand, they are vain, lazy, cruel and revengeful. They possess the domestic virtues of sobriety, chastity and frugality, and are well-mannered, affable and hospitable, though somewhat contemptuous of strangers. They are endowed in no small degree with the high-flown poetic temperament of the Serb race, and delight in interminable recitations of their martial deeds, which are sung to the strains of the *gûsla*, a rudimentary one-stringed fiddle. Dancing is a favourite pastime. Two characteristic forms are the slow and stately ring-dance (*kolo*),[1] in which women sometimes participate, though it is

[1] The ring-dance, known as the *kolo* (literally, " wheel ") in all Serb countries, corresponds with the Bulgarian *horo* (to be distinguished from the Montenegrin *oro*), and is almost universal throughout the Balkan Peninsula ; it is seldom, however, danced in the rocky Katunska district, where level spaces are rare.

usually performed by a circle of men; and the livelier measure for both sexes (*oro*), in which the couples face one another, leaping high into the air, while each man encourages his partner by rapid revolver-firing. The *oro* is the traditional dance in the Katunska district. Women chant wild dirges, generally improvised, over the dead; mourners try to excel one another in demonstrations of grief; and funerals are celebrated by an orgy very like an Irish "wake." Like most imaginative peoples, the Montenegrins are extremely superstitious, and belief in the vampire, demons and fairies is almost universal. Among the mountains they can converse fluently at astonishing distances. The physical type contrasts with that of the northern Serbs: the features are more pronounced, the hair is darker, and the stature is greater. The men are tall, often exceeding 6 ft. in height, muscular, and wonderfully active, displaying a cat-like elasticity of movement when scaling their native rocks; their bearing is soldier-like and manly, though somewhat theatrical. The women, though frequently beautiful in youth, age rapidly, and are short and stunted, though strong, owing to the drudgery imposed on them from childhood: they work in the fields, carry heavy burdens, and are generally treated as inferior beings. Like the Albanians, the Montenegrins take great pride in personal adornment. The men wear a red waistcoat, embroidered with gold or black braid, over which a long plaid is sometimes thrown in cold weather; a red girdle, in the folds of which pistols and yataghans are placed; loose dark-blue breeches and white stockings, which are generally covered with gaiters. The *opanka*, a raw-hide sandal, is worn instead of boots; patent leather long boots are sometimes worn by military officers and a few of the wealthier class. The head-dress is a small cap (*kapa*), black at the sides, in mourning for Kossovo; red at the top, it is said, in token of the blood shed then and afterwards. On the top near the side, five semicircular bars of gold braid, enclosing the king's initials, are supposed to represent the five centuries of Montenegrin liberty. There is little authority, however, for this and other fanciful interpretations of the pattern, which was adopted in the reign of Peter I.; the red fez, from which the kapa probably derives its colour, was previously worn. A blue or green mantle is sometimes worn in addition by the chiefs. The poorer mountaineers are often dressed in coarse sacking, but all without exception carry arms. The women, as befits their servile condition, are generally clothed in black, and wear a black head-dress or veil; on Sundays and holidays, however, a white embroidered bodice, silver girdle, and bright silk skirt are worn beneath an open coat. Over this is placed a short, sleeveless jacket of red, blue, or violet velvet, according to the wearer's age. Unmarried girls are allowed to wear the red kapa, but without the embroidered badge. The Vasoyevitch tribe retain the Albanian costume, in which white predominates. Turkish dress is often seen at Antivari, Dulcigno and Podgoritza. The dwelling-houses are invariably of stone, except in the eastern districts, where wooden huts are found. As a rule, only the mansions of cattle-owners have a second storey: the ground floor, which is dark and unventilated, is occupied by the animals; the upper chambers, in which the family reside, are reached by a ladder or stone staircase. Chimneys are rare, and the smoke of the fireplace escapes through the windows (if any exist) or the open doorway. The principal food of the people is rye or maize cake, cheese, potatoes and salted *scoranze*; their drink is water or sour milk; meat is seldom tasted, except on festive occasions, when raki and red wine are also enjoyed. The Montenegrins are great smokers, especially of cigarettes; in the districts which formerly belonged to Turkey the men, whose dignity never permits them to carry burdens, may be seen going to market with the *chibûk*, or long pipe, slung across their backs. The mother possesses little influence over her sons, who are trained from their earliest infancy to cultivate warlike pursuits and to despise the weaker sex. Betrothals often take place in early childhood. Young men who are attached to each other are accustomed to swear eternal brotherhood (*pobratimstvo*); the bond, which receives the sanction of the Church, is never dissolved. Marriages between Montenegrins and converted Turkish girls are a common source of blood-feuds. The *zadruga*, or house-community, under the rule of a *stareshina*, or house-father, is found in Montenegro as in other Slavonic lands. The tribal system still exists, but possesses less significance than in Albania, owing to the centralization of authority at Cettigne. The tribe (*pleme*, pl. *plemena*) is subdivided into clans (*bratstva*).

Constitution and Government.—Notwithstanding the creation of an elective senate in 1831, the grant of a so-called constitution in 1868, and the establishment of a responsible ministry in 1874, the government remained autocratic till 1905, the whole power, even the control of religion and finance, which the constitution of 1868 had conceded to the senate, being centred in the hands of the prince, who in 1910 assumed the title of king. The senate, instituted by Peter II. with the object of limiting the power of the tribal chieftains, was in 1881 merged in a council of state, the members of which, six in number, were nominated and dismissed by the prince. The council supervises measures to be laid before the *Skupshtina*, or national assembly, and exercises a disciplinary control over officials. The ministry comprises six departments: (1) the interior, with separate sections for public works, posts and telegraphs, commerce and industry, shipping, sanitary service and agriculture; (2) foreign affairs; (3) war; (4) finance; (5) justice; and (6) education. On the 19th of December 1905 a new constitution was proclaimed by Prince Nicholas. A *Skupshtina* was

instituted, consisting of 62 elected deputies, 9 *ex officio* members (the higher ecclesiastical and civil dignitaries), and 3 generals nominated by the prince. The Skupshtina is elected by manhood suffrage for a period of four years, and is summoned annually on the 31st of October. In conjunction with the Crown it exercises the legislative power; the ministers are responsible to it as well as to the Crown. The constitution affords financial supervision to the Skupshtina, which elects a board of control and votes an annual budget; it guarantees liberty of the person, of religious belief, and of the press, together with the right of public meeting, and abolishes the death penalty for political offences.

Administration and Justice.—For purposes of local administration the country is divided into 5 departments (*oblasti*), each governed by a prefect (*upravitel*), and 56 districts (*kapetanati*), each under an official styled *kapetan*. The prefects and kapetans are nominated by the king on the recommendation of the minister of the interior. Rural communes, each under an elected *kmet*, or mayor, exist in Montenegro as in all Slavonic countries. The kmets act as justices of the peace, and there is an appeal from their decisions to the courts of first instance (*kapetanski sudove*), of which there is one in each district, the kapetan acting as judge. In each of the five departments there is a superior court (*oblasni sud*), with a president and two judges; at Cettigne there is a high court of justice (*veliki sud*), which is the final court of appeal. The ultimate appeal to the prince was abolished in 1902, when Prince Nicholas laid aside his judicial functions, retaining only the prerogative of pardon. The judges, who are removable, are nominated by the king on the recommendation of the minister of justice. With a single exception there are no professional advocates in Montenegro; each man is his own counsel, bringing his own witnesses. The local gendarmerie, numbering 150 men, is distributed in the five departments. The *kapetanati* have replaced the former local divisions according to *plemena*; in each of the communes there is one or more of the *bratstva*. The codification of the law, which had been previously administered according to unwritten custom, was first undertaken by Peter I. in 1796. An improved code, issued by Danilo II. in 1855, still contained many quaint enactments. The excellent code drawn up by Professor Bogishitch, a native of Ragusa, in 1888, was revised and enlarged in 1899. It contains elements from various foreign systems scientifically adapted to national usages and requirements. A large number of judicial reforms were carried out by Count Voïnovitch, who succeeded Professor Bogishitch in 1899; in 1905 a new code of civil procedure was promulgated, and a criminal code in the following year. The only prison is at Podgoritza. In the old prison at Cettigne, closed after 1902, many of the inmates were free to walk in and out at pleasure. Some were burdened with fetters, rather as a punishment than for restraint. Until the completion of an asylum in 1903, dangerous lunatics were confined in prison. The commonest offences are murder and robbery; despite vigorous measures taken by the king and his predecessors, the blood-feud, or vendetta, cannot be stamped out, being approved, and even enforced, by public sentiment. Only women are held exempt from the duty of avenging their next-of-kin; they have been known, however, to undertake it, disguising themselves in male attire. A man who kills his slanderer, or otherwise avenges his honour, often receives a nominal term of imprisonment. Robbery, if practised by means of raids across the frontier, is popularly regarded as a venial offence. Other forms of crime are rare, and foreigners may traverse all parts of the kingdom, except the neighbourhood of the Albanian border, in perfect safety. The death penalty was first introduced by Peter I. Executions are carried out by a firing party selected from the various tribes, in order to prevent the relatives of the criminal from exacting vengeance. Exceptional severity is shown in the treatment of political offenders, who in some instances have been subjected to solitary confinement for years without trial.

Finance.—Financial statistics are not published. The total receipts were estimated in 1907 at 2,773,690 Austrian krone,[1] the principal sources of income being the taxes on land, houses and cattle, the monopolies of tobacco, salt, petroleum and alcohol, and the customs dues. The total expenditure was estimated at 2,730,994 krone, the principal items being: civil list, &c., 189,586 krone; ministry of interior, 574,822 krone; of foreign affairs, 144,547 krone; of justice, 232,710 krone; of finance, 592,561 krone; of war, 133,696 krone; of worship and education, 269,208 krone; service of national debt, 244,500 krone. The public debt is under £300,000. The contribution of Montenegro to the Ottoman debt has not been fixed. From time to time considerable subventions have been received from Russia and Austria. The annual Russian subsidy, mainly for military and educational purposes, is stated to be about £40,000. Montenegro has no mint; Austrian paper money and coins are generally employed together with Montenegrin nickel and bronze coins struck in Austria. Turkish gold and silver are also in circulation. The former Turkish and Venetian weights and measures have been superseded by the French.

Defence.—The Montenegrin is a born warrior; his weapons, which he never lays aside, are his most precious possession, and distinction in battle is the sole object of his ambition. Persons of all classes wear a revolver in the *kolan* or waistband. "You might as well take from me my brother as my rifle," says a native proverb; and rifles are almost universally carried near the Albanian frontier, where the tribesmen on either side are in a state of chronic hostility. Brave to a fault, an unerring marksman, hardy, agile, crafty and

[1] The krone = 10d. English.

enduring, the Montenegrin has few rivals in the practice of guerilla warfare. The traditional method of fighting is by ambuscade; the enemy is enticed into some intricate defile, surrounded, and harassed by rifle-fire; then the mountaineers, throwing aside their firearms, deliver a swift attack with the *hanjar*, or yataghan, which they wield with terrific effect. A number of heads cut off in battle adorned the parapet of a small tower outside Cettigne, called the "Turks' Tower," as late as 1850. When reduced to extremity the Montenegrins often committed suicide rather than fall into the hands of the enemy, the last cartridge being reserved for this purpose; disabled comrades who could not be removed used to be beheaded; in 1876 a Montenegrin offered to perform this kindly service for a Russian officer who was wounded at Klobuk. Savage methods of warfare, however, have been strongly discountenanced by King Nicholas and his predecessor. Till the middle of the 19th century the forces of the principality consisted of undisciplined bands of tribesmen under local chiefs, whose rivalries often proved injurious to the national cause. The supreme command, however, always rested with the prince. The nucleus of a permanent corps was created by Peter II., who formed a bodyguard of picked men known as *perianiki*, from the feathers (*pera*) which adorned their caps. The name is still borne by a small corps (20 men in 1907) which guards the residences of the king and his sons, but the feathers are no longer worn. In 1853 Danilo II. ordered the enrolment of all persons capable of bearing arms, and instituted a military hierarchy of *voievodes* (generals), *sirdars* (colonels) and *kapetans*; the organization, which was based on the tribal system, was remodelled by Servian officers in 1870, when the chiefs were brought to Cettigne to receive military instruction. In the same year arms of precision were introduced: the cost and complex structure of the new weapons threatened to cause serious difficulty, but Russian aid was soon forthcoming. Since 1870, though arms and ammunition are manufactured on a small scale within the kingdom, the chief supplies have come from Russia. In 1895 the tsar presented Prince Nicholas with 30,000 Berdan rifles, besides ordnance and other war material, and in 1898 sent a further gift of 35,000 Moskovska rifles. Every able-bodied citizen must serve in the army, except Moslems, who are exempt on payment of a capitation tax. The military organization has undergone a gradual transformation under Prince Nicholas in conformity with the changed circumstances of the country and the requirements of modern warfare. The militia system on the tribal basis is maintained, but in 1896 a permanent battalion of 500 men was established at Cettigne, and two years later another at Podgoritza, each under a *komandir*, or major, 4 captains and 15 lieutenants. A permanent brigade of artillery was formed at Nikshitch in 1897. In 1905 these were abolished through motives of economy. There is a standing corps of officers, but no standing army. All young men of military age go through an obligatory period of twelve days' service at the various local military centres. Candidates for a commission afterwards proceed to a military school at Podgoritza for one year; the best and most promising then receive commissions as *pod-ofizieri* or *sous-officiers*, and are sent for a further course of instruction of two years to military schools either at Cettigne for the infantry, or at Nikshitch for the artillery. They then receive full commissions and are sent to the local centres to superintend the training of the militia, thus gradually superseding the old militia officers, and replenishing the standing corps of officers of the regular army. Officers who have completed a course of study abroad are allowed to wear a distinctive emblem on the *kapa*. The war strength is estimated at from 38,000 to 42,000 men, the infantry being composed of about 32,000 men of the first ban and of 5000 or 6000 of the second or reserve (which, however, would scarcely be employed in the field), the artillery of about 1500. Considerable deduction must be made from these numbers in view of the emigration of recent years; according to some authorities between 20,000 and 22,000 men of military age are absent in America and elsewhere. It is expected, however, that many of these would return should the country become involved in war. The infantry is divided in 11 brigades, each containing from 4 to 6 battalions; the total number of battalions is 56. The battalion is composed of a varying number of *tchete*, or companies, each of which belongs to a separate clan and has its own *bairaktar*, or standard-bearer. The younger men of the first ban are occasionally exercised in the neighbourhood of their homes on Sundays and holidays. They are armed with the Moskovska (repeating) rifle, but a Berdan rifle is also kept in each household. The artillery was composed in 1910 of 18 siege, 25 field and 38 mountain guns, with 4 howitzers, 15 mortars and 18 machine-guns (6 Gatling and 12 Maxim-Nordenfeldt); the principal arsenal is at Spuzh, where the heavier guns are kept, the others are distributed among 8 of the 11 local brigades. The *perianiki*, whose numbers were increased by Prince Danilo, were disbanded in 1898, when steps were taken to form a bodyguard of 3000 picked men under Prince Mirko, King Nicholas's second son, but the project was abandoned in view of the jealousies to which the selection gave rise. Owing to the lack of open country there is no cavalry. In 1894 the sultan presented Prince Nicholas with equipment for a small mounted bodyguard (32 men), and offered the services of three instructors. This corps, however, ceased to exist in 1898. About 20,000 men can concentrate at a given spot within 48 hours. The signal for mobilization is mainly given by telegraph; bonfires, trumpet-calls and volley-firing are also employed. The warriors were formerly summoned by stentorian couriers, who shouted from the tops of the mountains. An ambulance corps has been formed. Transport is deficient; all

draught animals, however, in the country have been registered and a few carts have been provided. The wives and daughters of the troops provide the commissariat, and carry the ammunition.

Religion.—The Montenegrin Church is an autocephalous branch of the Eastern Orthodox communion. In 1894 it formally vindicated its independence against the claims of the Russian Synod. The *vladikas*, or prince-bishops, formerly depended on the patriarchate of Ipek. The theocratic system of government which existed from 1516 to 1651 tended to unite the patriotic and the religious instincts of the people. Since the separation of the spiritual and temporal powers in 1851, the see of Cettigne, in which the diocese of Ostrog is included, has been occupied by a metropolitan (*metropolit*), who possesses a nominal jurisdiction over Scutari and the Primore. In judgments relative to divorce his verdicts may be reversed by the king. Otherwise he is supreme in matters spiritual. There are 159 parishes of the Orthodox Church, 10 Roman Catholic parishes under the archbishop of Antivari and 10 Mahommedan parishes under a mufti. The churches are small unpretending structures, almost all exactly alike; a handsome cathedral, however, has been erected at Nikshitch. The principal monasteries, in addition to the convent at Cettigne, are those of St Nicholas, on the Moratcha, and of St Basil at Ostrog. The monastic order is almost extinct; the parochial clergy, who numbered about 400 in 1900, are only distinguishable from the laity by their beards; they wear the national costume, carry weapons, take part in warfare, and follow the ordinary avocations of the peasantry. Even the old vladikas discarded the episcopal robe, except when engaged in sacerdotal duties. The clergy are still for the most part extremely ignorant.

Education.—The *Bogoslovia*, a seminary for the instruction of the young priests and schoolmasters, was established at Cettigne in 1869. It is maintained by a subvention from the emperor of Russia, while the empress supports the Zhenski Tzrnogorski Institut, an excellently managed school for girls (98 pupils in 1907). Government lecturers go on circuit to instruct the older men. They may be seen on Sundays, not only distributing general information, but teaching the shepherds how to safeguard their flocks from disease, and the lowland cultivators how to tend their vines and tobacco crops. An agricultural college at Podgoritza supplements their work. Primary education is compulsory. In the rural districts it is free; in the towns a small fee is charged. In 1906 there were 112 primary schools in the principality with 150 teachers and 9756 pupils; and two secondary schools (at Cettigne and Podgoritza) with 21 professors and about 1000 pupils; the Moslems and Roman Catholics have separate schools. There are also gymnasia, or high schools, at Cettigne and Podgoritza, with about 700 pupils. Students desirous of higher education proceed abroad, for the most part to the university in Belgrade. The progress of education under Prince Nicholas was very remarkable. In the time of his predecessor, Danilo II., who taught the sons of his chieftains in the palace, there were only three schools in the principality. In 1876, at the beginning of the war, there were 52 schools, with 62 teachers and 3159 pupils. The schools were closed during the war, and at its conclusion only 22 could be reopened, owing to want of funds. Elementary education was reorganized in 1878.

CHAPTER III

HISTORY

The history of Montenegro as an independent state begins with the battle of Kossovo (1389), but the country had enjoyed periods of independence or semi-independence at various epochs before that event. It formed a portion of the district of Praevalitana in the Roman province of Illyria, and, lying on the borderland of the empires of the West and East, it alternately shared the fortunes of either till the close of the 5th century. It was then conquered by the Ostrogoths (A.D. 493), but half a century later definitely passed under Byzantine rule, having already acknowledged the ecclesiastical authority of Constantinople, a circumstance which determined the course of its subsequent history. Illyria and Dalmatia succumbed to the great Serbo-Croat invasion of the 6th and 7th centuries; the Serb race by which Montenegro is now inhabited occupied the country about the middle of the 7th century. A confederacy of Serb states was formed under *zhupans*, or feudal princes, dependent on the grand zhupan, who was nominally the vassal of the Greek emperor. The Serb principality of the Zeta, or Zenta, originally included the Herzegovina, Cattaro and Scutari, as well as the Montenegro of to-day, and was ruled by a zhupan resident at Doclea. The principality, though retaining its zhupans, was practically united with the Servian kingdom between 1159 and 1356 under the Nemanya dynasty, which sprang from Doclea. After the death of the great Servian tsar Dushan in 1356 the feudatory princes of his empire became more or less independent, and the powerful family of Balsha established a dynasty in the Zeta, eventually transferring its capital from Doclea to Scutari. After the fatal defeat of Kossovo, which extinguished the independence of Servia for more than four centuries, George Balsha, the ruling prince of the Zeta, withdrew to the mountainous portion of his realm, which became an asylum for many of the Servian nobles and for others who had been outlawed or persecuted by the Turkish conqueror. The principality now owned no suzerain, and the history of its heroic struggle with the Turks began. The long record of warfare is varied by conflicts with the Venetians, who at times allied themselves with the mountaineers, but usually deserted them in the hour of need. The Balsha family became extinct in 1421, and a new dynasty was founded by Stephan Tzernoyevitch, or Tzernovitch, who fixed his capital at Zhabliak on the north-east side of Lake Scutari, and joined with his relative, the famous Scanderbeg, in many campaigns against the Turks. After the Turkish conquest of Bosnia in 1463, of the Herzegovina in 1476 and of Albania in 1478, and the surrender of Scutari by the Venetians in 1479, the Montenegrins found themselves surrounded on all sides by the Ottoman power, and the struggle was henceforth for existence. Abandoned by Venice and unable to obtain succour from any Christian state, Ivan the Black, the son and successor of Stephan, set fire to Zhabliak in 1484, and withdrew with his people to the mountain village of Tzetinye (Cettigne) which has ever since been the capital of the little principality. Here he founded the famous monastery and created a bishopric in order to establish the spiritual power at the seat of government. Ivan was one of the greatest heroes of Montenegrin history: according to the national legend, he still sleeps in a cave near his fortress of Obod—to awake when the hour arrives for the expulsion of the Turks from Europe.

The Tzernoyevitch dynasty came to an end in 1516, and from this date till 1696 the mountaineers were ruled by the *vladikas* or bishops of Cettigne, elected by assemblies of the chiefs and people, and consecrated by the patriarch of Ipek. The elective

vladikas were aided in matters relating to national defence by a civil governor. The institution of a theocratic sovereignty probably saved the country from absorption in the Turkish Empire, the supreme power being vested in a sacrosanct person, whose position was unattainable by ambitious chieftains, and whose holy office precluded the possibility of his defection to Islam. The earlier vladikas were left comparatively unmolested by the Turks, and were enabled to devote their attention to the issue of numerous psalters, missals and gospels from the printing-press at Obod. But the beginning of the 17th century was marked by renewed Turkish aggression. Cettigne was taken in 1623 and again in 1687, when the monastery of Ivan the Black was blown up by the monks; a tribute was for a time imposed on the mountaineers, but the bolder spirits maintained their resistance in the heights, and the invading armies found it impossible to prolong their stay in these inhospitable regions.

In 1696 it was decided to continue the hereditary principle with the theocratic system, and Danilo Petrovitch of Niegush, the first ruler of the present reigning family, was nominated vladika with power to select his successor from among his relatives. The succession was henceforth regularly from uncle to nephew, owing to the rule of celibacy imposed on the monastic order. The reign of Danilo I. was memorable for the massacre of the Moslems settled in the principality (the "Montenegrin vespers") on Christmas Eve 1702, the great defeat of the Turkish invaders at Tzarevlatz (1712), the capture of Cettigne by the Turks and the destruction for the third time of its monastery (1714), and the inauguration of the intimate relations which have ever since existed with Russia by the visit of the vladika to Peter the Great in 1715. With Russian aid Danilo was enabled in some degree to repair the ruin which had overtaken his little realm. In the time of his successor Sava (1737–1782) an impostor named Stephan Mali, who represented himself as the Russian emperor Peter III., won the confidence of the Montenegrins, and governed the country with ability for several years (1768–1773), the mountaineers defeating the combined efforts of the Turks and Venetians to remove him. He was eventually assassinated by a Greek suborned by the pasha of Scutari. Peter I. (1782–1830), the greatest of the vladikas, took part in the war of Austria and Russia against Turkey (1788–92), but was abandoned by his allies in the treaties of Sistova and Jassy. He nevertheless completely routed the Turks in the battle of Krussa (1796), annexed the Brda region to the principality, and obtained a formal recognition of Montenegrin independence from the sultan in 1799. In concert with the Russians he besieged the French in Ragusa (1806), and in 1813–14 expelled them from the Bocche di Cattaro with the aid of a British fleet under Admiral Fremantle. The much-coveted seaport, however, was almost immediately occupied by an Austrian force. Peter I. reorganized the internal administration and promulgated the first Montenegrin code of laws. After his death he was canonized as a saint by the people. His successor Peter II. (1830–1851), a poet, statesman and reformer, as well as a capable military chief, instituted a senate (1831), abolished the office of civil governor (1832), revived the national printing-press, and did much to educate and civilize his people. He was buried by his desire on the summit of Mount Lovchen that his spirit might survey his beloved land. He was the last of the vladikas; his nephew Danilo II. (1851–1860) at once declined the ecclesiastical dignity, and assuming the title of *gospodar*, or prince, settled the succession on his direct male descendants. He defeated the Turks near Ostrog in 1853, but refrained from attacking them during the Crimean War. His pacific policy produced much discontent among the warlike mountaineers, which culminated in an open revolt. His demand for the recognition of Montenegrin independence and other claims were set aside by the Congress of Paris. In 1858 his brother Mirko, "the Sword of Montenegro," routed the Turks with great slaughter at Grahovo. In 1855 Danilo II. promulgated a new code, assuring civil and religious liberty to his subjects. On the 11th of August 1860 he was shot at Persano on the Bocche di Cattaro by a Montenegrin whom he had exiled after the revolt, and died two days afterwards. He left no male offspring, and was succeeded by Nicholas, the son of his brother Mirko.

Shortly after the accession of Prince Nicholas (Aug. 13, 1860), an insurrection broke out in Herzegovina, and the sympathy which the mountaineers displayed with their Christian kinsmen led to a rupture with Turkey (1862). Notwithstanding the heroic defence of Ostrog by the prince's father, Mirko, the war proved disastrous, owing to the superior armament and discipline of the Turkish troops, and severe terms were imposed on the principality by the convention of Scutari (Aug. 31). During the fourteen years of peace which followed, the country suffered greatly from pestilence and famine. Within this period a series of reforms were carried out by the prince: the army was rearmed and reorganized, an educational system was initiated, and a constitution under which the prince surrendered various prerogatives to the Senate was granted. In 1869 the Krivoshians, or Serb inhabitants of the northern shores of the Bocche di Cattaro, rose against the Austrian government; the excitement in Montenegro was intense, but the prince succeeded in checking the warlike ardour of his subjects. The revolt in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1875 had more important consequences for the principality. On the 2nd of July 1876 Prince Nicholas, in alliance with Prince Milan of Servia, declared war against Turkey and invaded Herzegovina. A victory was gained at Vuchidol (July 28), and Medun was captured; but the Servian army suffered reverses, and an armistice was arranged in November. In the

following spring the determination of Russia to take the field against Turkey encouraged the Montenegrins to renew the war. The Turks succeeded in occupying Ostrog, but were subsequently repulsed; the greater part of their forces was soon withdrawn to Bulgaria, and Prince Nicholas captured successively Nikshitch, Antivari and Dulcigno. The recovery of the seaboard, which had belonged to Montenegro in the middle ages, was perhaps the principal achievement of the war. The enlargement of territory stipulated for by Russia under the treaty of San Stefano (March 3, 1878) would have brought Montenegro into close contiguity with Servia, thus facilitating the eventual union of the Serb race and closing the path of Austria towards the Aegean. The Berlin Treaty (article xxviii.) gave to Montenegro Nikshitch, Spuzh, Podgoritza, Plava, Gusinye and Antivari, but restored Dulcigno to Turkey. The resistance of the Molsem inhabitants of Plava and Gusinye to annexation led to long negotiations, and eventually the "Corti Compromise" was agreed to by a conference of the Powers at Constantinople (April 18, 1880). Plava and Gusinye were to be restored to Turkey, while the Montenegrin frontier was extended so as to include the Hoti and the greater part of the Klementi tribes. This arrangement, which could hardly have proved successful, was not carried out by Turkey, and the Powers subsequently decided to annex Dulcigno to Montenegro in exchange for Plava and Gusinye. The Porte interposed delays, though consenting in principle, and the Albanian League (see p. 92) assumed a menacing attitude. On the 28th of September the fleets of the Powers under Admiral Seymour appeared off Dulcigno, and the British government shortly afterwards proposed to occupy Smyrna. On the 11th of November the Porte yielded; on the 22nd the Turkish troops defeated the Albanians, and on the 25th Montenegro obtained possession of Dulcigno. The present frontier, as already described, was shortly afterwards delimited by an international commission. With the exception of some frontier troubles, the years since 1880 have been spent in peace, and the country has advanced in prosperity under the autocratic but enlightened rule of Prince Nicholas. The relations with Turkey, the traditional foe, have improved, while those with Austria have become less friendly. In July 1893 the four-hundredth anniversary of the foundation of the printing-press at Obod was celebrated at Cettigne, several foreign universities and learned bodies being represented at the festivities. In September 1896 the bi-centenary of the Petrovitch dynasty was commemorated. The marriage in the same year of Princess Helen, fourth daughter of Prince Nicholas, with the crown prince of Italy, subsequently King Victor Emmanuel III., led to an increase of Italian influence in the principality. In December 1900 Prince Nicholas assumed the title "Royal Highness." In October 1906 the first Montenegrin parliament assembled at Cettigne; and on the 28th of August 1910 Prince Nicholas assumed the title of king.[1]

[1] For later events see Appendices, p. 177.

4. RUMANIA

CHAPTER I

PHYSICAL FEATURES

RUMANIA, or Roumania [*România*], is a kingdom of south-eastern Europe, situated to the north-east of the Balkan Peninsula, and on the Black Sea. Pop. (1910, estimate) 6,850,000; area, about 50,720 sq. m., or about 6500 sq. m. less than the combined areas of England and Wales. Rumania begins on the seaward side with a band of territory called the Dobrudja; and broadens westward into the form of a blunted crescent, its northern horn being called Moldavia, its southern Walachia.

Physical Features.—Along the inner edge of this crescent run the Carpathian Mountains, also called, towards their western extremity, the Transylvanian Mountains or Transylvanian Alps; and the frontier which marks off Rumania from Hungary is drawn along their crests. The eastern boundary is formed by the river Pruth (*Prutu*), between Moldavia and Russia; farther south by the Kilia mouth of the Danube (*Dunarea*), between the Dobrudja and Russia, and by the Black Sea. In the extreme south-east, an irregular line, traced from Ilanlâc, 10 m. S. of Mangalia, on the coast, as far as the Danube at Silistria, 85 m. inland, separates the Dobrudja from Bulgaria. Otherwise, the Danube constitutes the whole southern frontier; its right bank being Bulgarian for 290 m., and Servian, in the extreme west, for 50 m. The Danube enters Rumania through the Verciorova or Kazan[1] Pass. It here resembles a long lake, overshadowed by precipitous mountains, which vary from 1000 to 2000 ft. in height, and are covered by birches and pines. In this neighbourhood the channel contracts to about 116 yds. in width, with a depth of 30 fathoms. At the eastern end of the pass are the celebrated Iron Gates, a rapid so named by the Turks, not from the surrounding heights, which here descend gradually to the river, but from the number of submerged rocks in the waterway. As it flows eastward from the frontier, the Danube gains in breadth and volume. Islands are frequent; the banks recede and become lower until, after 50 m., they stand almost level with the water. Henceforward, for 290 m., the Rumanian shore is a desolate fen-country, varied only by a few hills, by cities, and by lagoons often 15 m. long. East of Bucharest, a chain of lagoons and partially drained marshes stretches inland for 45 m. At Silistria the river bends N.N.E. for 110 m. with the Dobrudja on its right, and a barren plain, called the Baragan Steppe, on its left. It here encloses two large swampy islands, the upper being 57 m., the lower 43 m. long. Both have an average breadth of 10 m. Beyond Galatz, the river again turns eastward, branching out, near Tulcea, into three great waterways, which wind through a low-lying alluvial delta to the sea. The northern estuary is named the Kilia Mouth; the central, the Sulina; the southern, the St George's. Between Verciorova and the Sulina Mouth, the Danube traverses 540 m. Its current is rapid, and supplies the motive power for thousands of floating watermills, which lie moored in the shallows. It is fed by many tributaries, which rise in the Carpathians as mountain torrents, growing broad and sluggish as they flow south-eastward through the central Rumanian plain. In Walachia, it is joined by the Jiu (or Schyl) opposite Rahova; by the Olt (ancient Aluta) at Turnu Magurele; by the united streams of the Dimbovitza (*Dâmbovita*) and Argesh (*Arges*) at Oltenitza; by the Jalomitza (*Ialomita*) opposite Hirsova. The Olt pierces the Carpathians, by way of the Rothenthurm

[1] *I.e.*, Cauldron.

Pass, and forms the boundary of Little (*i.e.* western) Walachia, or Oltland. The Sereth (*Siretu* or *Seretu*) flows for about 340 m. from its Transylvanian source through Moldavia, and meets the Danube near Galatz, after receiving the Moldova, Bistritza (*Bistrita*), Trotosh (*Trotosŭ*), Milcovŭ, Putna, Râmnicŭ and Buzĕu on the west; and the Bêrlad (*Bêrladŭ*) on the east. The Milcovŭ was the former boundary between Walachia and Moldavia. The Pruth rises on the northern limit of Moldavia, forms the eastern frontier for 330 m., and falls into the Danube 10 m. E. of Galatz. Its chief Rumanian tributaries are the Basheu (*Basĕŭ*) and Jijia, rivers of the north. The Dobrudja or Dobrogea covers about 2900 sq. m. between the Black Sea and the lower reaches of the Danube. Its high crystalline rocks, covered with sedimentary formations, descend abruptly towards the delta, but more gradually towards the south, where the Bulgarian steppes encroach upon Rumanian soil. The few small rivers which drain the hills generally flow seaward, but those of the delta and steppes belong to the Danubian system. The coast is a low-lying region of sandhills, meres and marshes with one lagoon, 42 m. long, connected by a short stream with the St George Mouth. Its outlet on the sea is named the Portidje Mouth (*Gura Portiții*) of the Danube. North of this, the lagoon is called Lake Razim; while its southern half, shut off by three long islands, is the Blue Lake (*Sinoe Osĕro*, in Bulgarian).

Apart from the Dobrudja, the whole of Rumania is included in the northern basin of the lower Danube. It consists of a single inclined plane stretching upwards, with a north-westerly direction, from the left bank of the river to the summits of the Carpathians. It is divided into three zones—steppe, forest and alpine. The first begins beyond the mud-flats and reed-beds which line the water's edge, and is a vast monotonous lowland, sloping so gently as to seem almost level. The surface is a yellow clay, with patches of brown or dark grey, outliers of the Russian "black earth." Cereals, chiefly maize, with green crops and fields of gourds, alternate with fallow land overgrown by coarse grasses, weeds and stunted shrubs. Among the scanty trees, willows and poplars are commonest. The second zone extends over the foothills and lower ridges of the Carpathians. This region, called by Rumans "the district of vines," is the most fertile portion of the country. In it grow most fruits and flowers which thrive in a temperate climate. Oaks, elms, firs, ashes and beeches are the principal forest trees. The third zone covers the higher mountains on their southern and eastern sides, whose violently contorted strata leave many transverse valleys, though usually inclining laterally towards the south-east. The birch and larch woods of this zone give way to pine forests as the altitude increases; and the pines to mosses, lichens and alpine plants, just below the jagged iron-grey peaks, many of which attain altitudes of 6000 to 8000 ft.

Climate.—The Rumanian climate alternates between extreme cold in winter, when the thermometer may fall to – 20° Fahrenheit, and extreme heat in summer, when it may rise to 100° in the shade. Autumn is the mildest season; spring lasts only for a few weeks. Spring at Bucharest has a mean temperature of 53°; summer, 72·5°; autumn, 65°; winter, 27·5°. For about 155 days in each year, Rumania suffers from the bitter north-east wind (*crivets*) which sweeps over south Russia; while a scorching west or south-west wind (*austrŭ*) blows for about 126 days. Little snow falls in the plains, but among the mountains it may lie for five months. The frosts are severe, the Danube being often icebound for three months. The rainfall, which is heaviest in summer, averages about 15–20 in.

Fauna.—In its fauna, Walachia has far more affinity to the lands lying south of the Danube than to Transylvania, although several species of *Claudilia*, once regarded as exclusively Transylvanian, are found south of the Carpathians. Moldavia and the Baragan Steppe resemble the Russian prairies in their variety of molluscs and the lower kinds of mammals. Over 40 species of freshwater mussels (Unionidae) have been observed in the Rumanian rivers. The lakes of the Dobrudja likewise abound in molluscs; parent forms, in many cases, of species which reappear, greatly modified, in the Black Sea. Insect life is somewhat less remarkable; but besides a distinctive genus of Orthoptera (*Jaquetia Hospodar*), there are several kinds of weevils (Curculionidae) said to be peculiar to Rumania. Birds are very numerous, including no fewer than 4 varieties of crows, 5 of warblers, 7 of woodpeckers, 8 of buntings, 4 of falcons, and 5 of eagles; while among the hosts of water-fowl which people the marshes of the Danube are 9 varieties of ducks, and 4 of rails. Roe-deer, foxes and wolves find shelter in the forests, where bears are not uncommon; and chamois frequent the loftiest and most inaccessible peaks.

Minerals.—The mineral wealth of Rumania lies chiefly in the mountains. Petroleum, salt, lignite and brown coal are largely worked. Deposits of rock-salt, a valuable government monopoly, stretch from the department of Suceava in northern Moldavia to that of Gorjiu in Walachia, and are mined in the departments of Bacau, Prahova and Râmnicŭ Sărat. The presence of petroleum, indicated by many ancient workings in the shape of shallow hand-dug wells, can be traced continuously at the foot of the Transylvanian Alps, from Turnu Severin into Bukovina. Rumans claim for their product a higher percentage of pure oil than is found in the American, Galician and Caucasian wells; and, although American competition nearly destroyed this industry between 1873 and 1895, improved methods and legislation favouring the introduction of foreign capital enabled it to recover. At the beginning of the 20th century the Rumanian petroleum deposits were among the

most important in the world. The industry is carried on by private producers as well as by the state, the American Standard Oil Company being largely interested. The total output, coming chiefly from the departments of Bacau, Buzeu, Dimbovitza and Prahova, was 250,000 metric tons in 1900, 615,000 in 1905, and 1,300,000 in 1909. Associated with petroleum is ozokerite, converted by the peasantry into candles. Lignite is used as fuel on the railways. The chief anthracite beds, those in the Gorjiu department, are leased until 1975 to an English capitalist, who has the right to construct railways. Extensive coalfields exist in the Dobrudja, and the Dimbovitza, Mehedintzi, Muscel, Prahova and Vâlcea departments. Iron, copper, lead, mercury, cinnabar, cobalt, nickel, sulphur, arsenic and china clay also occur. Among the mountains, gold was perhaps worked under Trajan, who first appointed a *Procurator Metallorum*, or overseer of mines, for Dacia ; certainly in the 14th century, when immigrant Saxon miners established a considerable trade with Ragusa, in Dalmatia. Under the Turks, gold-washing was carried on by gipsy slaves, but it has long been abandoned as unprofitable. Until 1896 building materials were chiefly imported ; but, after that year, many quarries were opened to develop the native resources of limestone, sandstone, serpentine, red, yellow and green granite, and marbles of all colours, including the white marble from Dorna in Suceava, said by Rumans to rival that of Carrara in Italy. Clear amber is found beside the Buzeu and its affluents, with brown and grey clouded amber, and a blue fluorescent variety, of considerable value.

Rumania has long been noted for its mineral springs. Ruins of a Roman bath exists near Curtea de Argesh. In the Vâlcea department, besides many other iodine, sulphur and mud baths, there are the state-supported spas of Calimanescii, Caciulata and Govora, situated among some of the finest Carpathian scenery. Most famous of all is Sinaia, the summer residence of the Court ; while important springs exist at Lake Sarat, near Braila ; at Slanic, in the Prahova department, where flooded and abandoned salt-mines are fitted up as baths ; at the Tekir Ghiol mere, near Constantza ; and at Baltzateshti (*Baltateștii*) in the Neamtzu (*Neamțu*) department, a favourite resort of invalids from many parts of eastern Europe.

CHAPTER II

AGRICULTURE, COMMERCE AND COMMUNICATIONS

Agriculture.—That, in 1900, Rumania ranked third,[1] after the United States and Russia, among the grain-growing countries of the world, is due partly to the fertile soil, whose chemical constituents are the same as in the "black earth" region of Russia, though even richer in nitrates; partly also to the improved methods and appliances introduced in the last quarter of the 19th century. The frail wooden ploughs with a lance-headed share that only scratched the surface soil, were then superseded by iron ploughs; steam threshers replaced the oxen which trod out the corn, and modern implements were widely adopted. Vast harvests of wheat and maize ripen on the plains and lower hills. Apart from cereals, the principal crops are beans, potatoes, beetroot and tobacco. Among the wine-producing countries of Europe, Rumania stood fifth in 1900, despite the ravages of *phylloxera*, old-fashioned culture, lack of storage and other drawbacks. The red wines of Moldavia, especially the brand known as *Piscul Cerbului*, resemble Bordeaux. The best white wines came from Cotnar in the Jassy department, but here *phylloxera* ruined the vineyards. Golden Cotnar was akin to Tokay. To combat the *phylloxera*, the government ordered the destruction of all infected vines, distributed immune American stocks and established schools of viticulture. On the upland fruit farms, although apples, pears, medlars, cherries, plums, peaches, apricots and melons thrive, the chief attention is given to damsons, from which is extracted a mild spirit (*tsuica*), highly esteemed throughout Rumania. This industry began to decline after 1860, but revived with the establishment of government schools of fruit-culture in many villages. Further instruction was given at various horticultural institutes in the towns, notably the Botanic Gardens and Institute of Bucharest, where the experiments in planting figs, almonds, hops and cotton yielded favourable results. Tobacco is largely cultivated, under state supervision.

There are three breeds of Rumanian oxen, besides the peculiar black buffaloes, with horns lying almost flat along their necks. Cheap transit enables the Rumanian farmers to compete successfully in the meat-markets of Austria, Germany and Holland. The southern Dobrudja and the Baragan Steppe, with the mountain pastures of Argesh, Buzeu, Dimbovitza, Muscel and Prahova, are occupied by large sheep-runs; 1200 farms were created in the Baragan by the Land Act of 1889. In winter the flocks are driven from the highlands to the plains. Cheeses of ewe's milk, packed in sheepskins or bark, are in great demand. Swine and pork are largely exported to Russia and Austria-Hungary. Besides the Moldavian and Servian breeds, thousands of so-called "swamp hogs" run wild among the marshes and on the islands of the Danube. Silkworm-rearing, once an important household industry, had been almost abandoned, when, in 1891, the government established mulberry nurseries, and distributed silkworms free of charge. Silkworm-rearing is taught in the monasteries and agricultural schools, especially in the College of Agriculture and Sylviculture, at Ferestriu, near Bucharest. Similar measures were adopted to check the decline of bee-keeping, and a model apiary was founded in 1890, under government control.

Forests.—The forests of Rumania were long either neglected or exploited in the most reckless fashion. Large tracts of woodland were cleared near the railways, and

[1] The relative importance of Rumania was afterwards lessened by the development of wheat-culture in Canada, Argentina and elsewhere.

the communal rights of grazing and gathering firewood destroyed the aftergrowths. Nevertheless, in 1910 there were 2,760,000 acres under forests, chiefly in the mountains of north-western Moldavia. More than 1,000,000 acres are state property. Under King Charles, an ardent forester, the wholesale destruction of timber was arrested, and new plantations met with success. Lumber is floated down the rivers of the Carpathian watershed to the Danube, and so exported to Turkey and Bulgaria; casks, shaped planks and petroleum drums go chiefly to Austria and Russia. Wood-carving is taught in many schools, and a special school of forestry exists at Branesci in the Ilfov department. Estates in private hands are liable to state control, under the Forests Act of 1886.

Land Tenure.—The Rumanian system of land tenure dates from 1864, when most of the land was held in large estates, owned privately, or by the state or by monasteries. There was also a small class of peasant proprietors, called *mochenéni* in Walachia, *résèchi* in Moldavia, living and working in family communities; but the great mass of the peasantry cultivated the lands of the large proprietors, giving a certain number of days' work to their manorial lord, in addition to a tithe of the raw produce. They received in return a plot of ground proportionate to the number of animals they owned, and had also rights of grazing and of collecting fuel in the forests. In 1864, under the government of Prince Cuza, a new law was promulgated, conferring on each peasant family freehold property in lots varying from 7½ to 15 acres, according to the number of oxen that they owned. The man with no cattle received the minimum; the owner of 2 oxen got 10 acres, and the possessor of 4 received 12½ to 15 acres. The price of the land, which was calculated on the basis of the value of the forced labour to which the landlord had been entitled, was about £1, 16s. per acre, paid to the landlord by the state as compensation, and subsequently recovered from the peasants in fifteen annual instalments. In the first distribution, which took place almost immediately after the law was passed, 280,000 families in Walachia and about 127,000 in Moldavia became freeholders, holding nearly 4 million acres or one-third of the cultivated area of the country. These peasant plots were all declared inalienable for thirty years. The law of emancipation, although passed with the best of motives, did not to any great extent benefit the peasantry. The limited size of their farms, and the necessity for buying wood and paying for pasturage, both of which were formerly free, prevented them from obtaining complete independence of the large proprietors, on whose estates they still had to work for payment in money or kind, while their improvidence soon got them into the hands of Jewish money-lenders, who, fortunately for the peasants, were by law unable to become proprietors of the soil. In 1866 and 1872 laws were passed for still further improving the position of these small proprietors; and in 1879 a measure was carried for allotting lands to 48,000 recently married couples, and for restoring to many peasant families lands which had been alienated.

By the Land Act of 1889, the state domains, amounting to nearly one-third of the total area of Rumania (originally the property of the church and the convents, confiscated by Prince Cuza in 1866), were distributed among the peasantry. The land was divided into lots of 12½, 25 and 37½ acres. Peasants having no land might purchase the smaller lots on very easy terms. Those who already held less than 12½ acres might purchase up to that amount. When a change of residence became necessary to enable the peasant to take up the new allotment, the state advanced £6 to each family to defray expenses. The price to be paid for the land differed in different districts, and was to be paid to the state in small annual instalments. If any land remained after satisfying the wants of the peasants, it was to be sold by public auction in lots of 50 to 62½ acres. All lots in both cases were declared inalienable for thirty years. The sale of the larger lots gave rise to so many abuses that in 1896 a law was passed abolishing their further sale. As a result of these measures the majority of Rumans are peasant proprietors; but the smallness of the holdings renders scientific farming difficult except by co-operation, and many proprietors can only live by working for the owners of large estates. Thus, though the average value of agricultural land increased by 60 % between 1870 and 1900, the position of the peasantry is far from satisfactory, and the resultant discontent was the chief cause of the agrarian rising in 1907.

Fisheries.—Among European freshwater fishing-grounds, the Danube is only surpassed by the Volga; the most valuable fish being sturgeon and sterlet, mostly netted in the St George mouth; carp, sometimes weighing 50 lb; pike, perch, tench and eels. By an act of 1895, a close period was instituted, the lakes and rivers restocked, and the state fisheries, which are either farmed by private companies or directly administered, were set in order. The coarse-grained grey Rumanian caviare is forwarded to Berlin, and there blended with Russian caviare. Flounders and mullet are caught in the Black Sea, and there are oyster-beds in the delta and on the Dobrudja littoral. The principal markets for Rumanian fish are Turkey, Russia and Austria-Hungary. Fish of inferior quality is imported, chiefly from Russia.

Manufactures and Commerce.—The native mines, fields and forests provide raw material for most of the few factories which exist. These include petroleum refineries, iron foundries, distilleries, flour mills, sugar refineries, sawmills, paper mills, chemical works, glass works, soap and candle works, &c. A law passed in 1887 provided that any one undertaking to

found an industrial establishment with a capital of at least £2000, or employing at least 25 workmen (of whom two-thirds should be Rumanians), should be granted 12 acres of state land, exemption for a term of years from all direct taxes, freedom from customs dues for machinery and raw material imported, exemption from road taxes, reduction in cost of carriage of materials on the state railways, and preferential rights to the supply of manufactured articles to the state.

The following table shows the value of Rumanian imports and exports for five years :—

Year.	Imports.	Exports.
1904	£12,455,000	£10,475,000
1905	13,510,000	18,284,000
1906	16,885,000	19,654,000
1907	17,220,000	22,157,000
1908	16,563,000	15,158,000

The principal imports are metals and machinery (£5,510,000 in 1908), textiles, silk, wool, hair and hides. Grain (£11,297,000 in 1908), petroleum (£1,543,000) and timber (£1,059,000) are by far the most important exports, the remainder consisting of live-stock and animal products, fruit, vegetables and mineral waters. In 1908 the chief consumers of Rumanian goods were (in order) Belgium, Great Britain and Italy ; the chief exporters to Rumania were Germany, Austria-Hungary, Great Britain and France. The wide fluctuations in Rumanian commerce are largely due to the dependence of the country on the grain harvest.

Finance.—The state revenue is derived from customs ; from public works and public land ; from indirect taxes in the shape of stamp, inheritance, beer, spirit, petroleum and other duties ; from direct taxes on land and buildings, with road-tolls, licences for the sale of alcohol and traders' registration fees ; from the tobacco, salt, match, playing-card and cigarette-paper monopolies ; and from the postal, telegraphic and telephonic services. The chief items of expenditure are interest on the national debt, and the cost of defence, public works and education.

The following table shows the estimated revenue and expenditure for five years :—

Year.	Revenue.	Expenditure.
1906–7	£9,557,000	£9,509,000
1907–8	10,099,000	9,979,000
1908–9	16,440,000	16,390,000
1909–10	17,427,000	17,146,000
1910–11	18,443,000	18,443,000

The great increase after 1907–8 is due to the inclusion of railway receipts and expenditure, with some other items not previously enumerated.

In May 1905 the outstanding public debt, which amounted to about £54,000,000, mainly placed in Germany and bearing interest at an average rate of 5 %, was converted into a uniform 4 % stock. Besides this reduction of interest, the state secured an extension of fourteen years in each of the various periods allotted for repayment of the component loans. But a considerable increase in the total debt was involved, because a bonus of 10½ % in new 4 % stock, issued at par, was offered to induce bondholders to convert, while, to cover the bonus, an additional 4 % loan was raised at 90·70, amounting to £4,000,000, redeemable in 1945. At the beginning of the fiscal year 1909–10 (March 31st, O.S.) the total outstanding debt was £58,367,000, and the debt charges for the year were estimated at £3,518,080.

Banks and Currency.—Apart from the General Bank of Rumania (capital £200,000), which is owned by a syndicate mainly of Germans, the largest credit establishments belong to the state. They include the National Bank (capital and reserves in 1910, £1,500,000), founded in 1880 the Agricultural Loan Bank, founded in 1894 ; the Rural and Urban Land Credit Institutes, which lend money on agricultural and building land respectively ; the Cassa Rurala, which buys estates for resale in small lots ; savings banks in all the principal towns ; and the Deposit and Trust Fund, which takes charge of estates left vacant through intestacy, surplus departmental and communal funds, securities given by contractors for public works, &c.

After the Crimean War, a bimetallic currency was adopted, with the *leŭ* (franc) of 100 *bani* (centimes) as the unit of value. But after 1878 the Russian silver rouble was rated so highly as to drive the native coins out of circulation ; and in 1889 Rumania joined the Latin Monetary Union and adopted a gold standard. Besides the silver pieces worth ½, 1, 2 and 5 *leĭ*, gold coins of 5, 10 and 20 *leĭ* are used. Silver is legal tender only up to 50 *leĭ*. All taxes and customs dues must be paid in gold, and, owing to the small quantities issued from the Rumanian mint, foreign gold is current, especially French 20-franc pieces (equal at par to 20 *leĭ*), Turkish gold *lire* (22·70), Old Russian Imperials (20·60) and English

sovereigns (25·22). Besides bronze coins of less value than ½ *leŭ*, nickel pieces worth 5, 10 and 20 *bani* were authorized by a law of 1900. The French decimal system is in use for weights and measures, together with Turkish standards. On the railways and in post offices the Gregorian calendar is employed; elsewhere the Julian remains in use.

Communications.—Until the 19th century, traffic was carried on in Rumania chiefly by means of ox-wagons, over the roughest of roads. After 1830, however, many highways were opened, these being usually excellent among the mountains, but deteriorating as they descend into the lowlands, where stone is dear. Highways are maintained by the state, department or commune, according to their size and importance. In 1869 the first Rumanian railway was opened, between Bucharest and Giurgevo, its port. Other lines followed rapidly; some built by private enterprise, others by the state, which by 1888 had bought the entire system. This centres in one main line, carried southwards from Suczawa in Bukovina through the whole length of Moldavia, and turning westwards through Walachia to meet the Hungarian frontier at Verciorova. Branch lines extend, on one side, up the lateral valleys of the Carpathians, and, on the other, to Jassy and the principal Danubian ports. A direct line connects Jassy with Galatz; another traverses the Dobrudja from Constantza to Cernavoda, where it crosses the Danube and proceeds north-west to join the main line. The double bridge of Cernavoda, with the viaducts leading to it, stretches for 12½ m. across the river and surrounding marshes. Besides the junctions at Suczawa and Verciorova, the Rumanian system meets the Hungarian through the Gyimes, Rothenthurm and Vulkan Passes; the Russian by lines from Jassy and Galatz to Kishinev in Bessarabia; the Bulgarian and Servian by means of numerous ferries. Rumania has no canals, and the canalization of its rivers is impeded by drought and floods. The Pruth and Sereth are navigable for a short distance by small sailing craft; the conservancy of the Danube is controlled by a European commission, which sits at Galatz. Besides river services, the state maintains lines of sea-going ships from Constantza to Constantinople and the Aegean Islands, and from Braila to Rotterdam. In 1908 the ports of Rumania were entered by 32,888 vessels of 9,269,000 tons, of which 30,504 of 6,529,000 tons belonged to the river (Danubian) trade. The merchant navy of Rumania comprised about 495 vessels of 145,000 tons, including 88 steamers.

CHAPTER III

POPULATION, GOVERNMENT AND RELIGION

Population.—The population of Rumania numbered 5,912,520 in 1899, and about 6,850,000 in 1910.[1] Fully 6,000,000 of these were Rumans or Vlachs. The population of foreign descent comprises many Jews, Armenians, gipsies, Greeks, Germans, Turks, Tatars and Magyars, Servians and Bulgarians. The Jews increase more rapidly than any of these peoples except the Armenians. They usually congregate in the larger towns, though in northern Moldavia there are a few purely Jewish villages, recalling those of Poland.

The bitter feeling against them in Rumania is not so much due to religious fanaticism as to the fear that if given political and other rights they will gradually possess themselves of the whole soil. In many towns in northern Moldavia the Jews are in a majority, and their total numbers in Rumania are about 300,000, *i.e.* about one-twentieth of the entire population, a larger ratio than exists in any other country in the world. In many places they have the monopoly of the wine and spirit shops, and retail trade generally; and as they are always willing to advance money on usury, and are more intelligent and better educated than the ordinary peasant, there is little doubt that in a country where the large landowners are proverbially extravagant, and the peasant proprietors needy, the soil would soon fall into the hands of the Jews were it not for the stringent laws which prevent them from owning land outside the towns. When in addition it is considered that the Moldavian Jews, who are mostly of Polish and Russian origin, speak a foreign language, wear a distinguishing dress and keep themselves aloof from their neighbours, the antipathy in which they are held by the Rumanians generally may be understood.

The gipsies, who are mostly converts to the Orthodox Church, still, as a rule, cling to their vagabond existence, though their skill at all handicrafts finds them ready employment in the towns. During their centuries of slavery they were organized into castes, as musicians, metal workers, masons, &c.; but after about 1850 the bonds of caste were gradually relaxed and gipsies began to intermarry with Rumans. The Greeks form a floating population of merchants and small traders, anxious to amass a fortune and return home. German and Austrian business men visit the country in large numbers, and colonies of German farmers flourish among the mountains of Little Walachia. In central Moldavia there is a large population of Magyar descent, and the Servian and Bulgarian elements are strong near the Danube. The interior of the Dobrudja is occupied largely by Turks and Bulgarians, with Tatars, Russians and Armenians, but here the Ruman steadily gains ground at the expense of the alien. At Megidia, a flourishing town of about 10,000 inhabitants, which sprang up after 1860 between Cernavoda and Constantza, the Tatars predominate. Russians of the Lipovan sect live in exile in Bucharest and other cities, earning a livelihood as cab-drivers, and wearing the long coats and round caps of their countrymen.

[1] *Chief Towns.*—The chief towns, with their estimated population in 1910, are Bucharest, the capital (300,000); Jassy, the capital of Moldavia (80,000); Galatz (66,000), Braila (60,000), Ploesci (50,000), Craiova (46,000), Botoshani (34,000), Bêrlad (25,000), Focshani (25,000), Tulcea (20,000), Constantza (16,000), Giurgevo (15,000). Other towns which, like the foregoing, are described in separate articles are Alexandria, Babadag, Bacau, Buzeu, Calafat, Calarashi, Campulung, Caracal, Curtea de Argesh, Dorohoi, Dragashani, Falticeni, Hushi, Mangalia, Neamtzu, Oltenitza, Piatra, Pitesci, Râmnicu Sărat, Râmnicu Vâlcea, Roman, Sinaia, Sulina, Tîrgu Jiu, Tîrgu Ocna, Tîrgovishtea, Tecuci, Turnu Magurele, Turnu Severin and Vaslui.

National Characteristics.—Two dissimilar types are noticeable among the Rumans. One is fair-haired, florid and blue-eyed; the other, more frequent among the Carpathians, is dark, resembling the southern Italians. Both alike are hardy, though rarely tall; both, when of the peasant class, frugal and inured to toil amid the rigours of their native climate. Proud of their race and country, they acquired, with their independence, an ardent sense of nationality; and they look forward to the day which will reunite them to their kinsmen in Transylvania and Bessarabia. They have been taught, originally in the interests of Transylvanian Roman Catholicism, to regard themselves as true descendants of the Romans. The peasants retain their distinctive dress, long discarded, except on festivals and at court, by the wealthier classes. Men wear a long linen tunic, leather belt, white woollen trousers and leather gaiters, above Turkish slippers or sandals. The lowlanders' head-dress is generally a high cylindrical cap of rough cloth or felt, while the mountaineers prefer a small round straw hat. Sundays and holidays bring out a sleeveless jacket, embroidered in red and gold; and both sexes wear sheepskins in cold weather. The linen dresses of women are fastened by a long sash or girdle, wound many times round the waist; the holiday attire being a white gown covered with embroideries, one or more brightly coloured aprons and necklaces of beads or coins. The standard of comfort is lowest along the Danube and in parts of the Dobrudja. As the land becomes higher, the dwellings improve; but, despite the presence of a doctor in each commune, disease is everywhere rife. Many villages are wholly built of timber and thatch, especially amongst the Carpathians, the floors being frequently raised on piles, several feet above the ground. The inner walls are often hung with hand-woven tapestries, which harmonize well with the smoke-blackened rafters, the primitive loom and the huge Dutch stove characteristic of a prosperous Rumanian farm. Many pagan beliefs linger on in the country, where vampires, witches and the evil eye are dreaded by all. The peasants reassure themselves by the use of charms and spells, and by a strict observance of the forms which their creed prescribes. A cross guards every well or spring; every home has its *ikons* or sacred pictures. Church festivals and fasts are kept with equal care. For months together a Ruman will subsist on vegetables and *mamaliga*, the maize porridge that forms his staple diet. Beef and mutton are rarely touched, and in some districts pork is only eaten on St Hilary's day (the 20th of December, O.S.). Veal is the one kind of meat generally consumed. Wine and plum-spirit, or the more powerful brandy distilled from grain, are drunk in great quantities by the townsfolk, more sparingly by countrymen; Rumans generally being more sober than the western Europeans. The ceremonies which accompany a wedding preserve the tradition of marriage by capture; a peasant bride must enter her new home carrying bread and salt, and in parts of Walachia a flower is painted on the outer wall of cottages in which there is a girl old enough to marry. Young men swear eternal brotherhood; girls, eternal sisterhood; and the Church ratifies their choice in a service at which the feet of the pair are chained together. This relationship is morally and legally regarded as not less binding than kinship by birth. The dead are borne to the grave with uncovered faces, and a Rumanian funeral is a scene of much barbaric display. All classes delight in music and dancing. Women hold spinning-parties at which the leader begins a ballad, and each in turn contributes a verse. A number of satirical folk-tales (largely of Turkish origin) are current at the expense of Jew, gipsy or parish priest. The Rumanian folk-songs, sung and often improvised by the villagers, or by a wandering guitar-player (*cobzar*), are of exceptional interest and beauty. The national dances and music closely resemble those of the Southern Slavs.

Constitution.—In 1866, Prince Charles of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen was chosen prince of Rumania by a constituent assembly elected under universal suffrage. This body at the same time drew up a constitution, which remains in force, though modified in 1879 and 1884. In 1881, Prince Charles was proclaimed king. As he proved childless, the succession was accepted by his brother, Prince Leopold, on behalf of his son William; and in 1888 William renounced his claim in favour of Ferdinand his younger brother. Thus the monarchy became hereditary in the family of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen. No woman may ascend the throne; and, in default of a male heir, the representatives of the people can choose a king among the royal families of western Europe.

Parliament consists of a senate, elected for eight years, and a chamber of deputies, elected for four years. Senators must be forty years old and possess an income of 9400 lei (£376). They are chosen by two colleges of electors; one composed of citizens with an income of £80; the other, of citizens with incomes varying from £32 to £80. The heir-apparent, the two archbishops, the six bishops and the rectors of both universities, sit *ex officio* in the senate. For the chamber of deputies, all citizen taxpayers of full age may vote, being organized for the purpose into three colleges. All persons with an income of £50 vote in the first; all residents in an urban commune who pay taxes amounting to sixteen shillings yearly, with those who have been through the primary course of education, and all members of the liberal professions, retired officers and state pensioners, vote in the second. The third college is formed of the remaining taxpayers. Those who can read and write vote directly, the rest indirectly. Every fifty indirect electors choose a delegate, who votes along with the direct electors. The naturalization of Jews and Moslems is

hedged about by many technical difficulties, and requires a separate vote of the legislature in every individual case. Deputies must be not less than twenty-five years of age. Both senators and deputies receive 20 leï for each day of actual attendance, and travel free on the railways. The king may temporarily veto any measure passed by parliament. Executive power is vested in a council under the presidency of a prime minister, and representing the ministries of foreign affairs; justice; the interior; religion and education; war; finance; agriculture, trade, industry and public domains; and public works. Entire liberty of speech, assembly and the press is guaranteed by the constitution, by which also the titles and privileges of the boiars or nobles were abolished.

For purposes of local government, Rumania is divided into 32 departments, each controlled by a prefect, and subdivided into sub-prefectures and communes. The sub-prefectures (*plaşii*) correspond with the French *arrondissements*. Prefects and sub-prefects are appointed by the state, but the chief civic officials are elected. Very heavy *octroi* duties provide the means of municipal administration.

Law and Justice.—Until the 17th century justice was administered according to custom and precedent, or, in ecclesiastical cases, by the rules of an ill-defined canon law. The first change was introduced by Matthias Bassaraba, prince of Walachia (1633–54), and by Basil the Wolf, prince of Moldavia (1634–53). Basil drew up a criminal code, on the principle of "an eye for an eye." Thus, a man guilty of arson was burned alive. No idea of equality before the law as yet existed: nobles might only be beheaded or banished. Bassaraba, besides reforming the canon law, issued a similar criminal code, with a number of civil enactments, based on Roman law, and regulating testaments, guardianship, &c. The next great advance began with the Russian protectorate over Rumania (1828–50), when magistrates were made irremovable, and new tribunals created, including a petty court in each rural commune. But nothing was yet done to modify the relative positions of noble and serf. The growth of the present system dates from the union of Moldavia and Walachia in 1859. The main provisions of Rumanian law are drawn from the codes of western powers, especially the *Code Napoléon*. Besides the communal courts, there are quarter-sessional or circuit courts, where simple cases are decided. An appeal from these lies to the departmental courts, which sit in every capital of a department, and in which sessions are held, at stated times, for the trial by jury of serious offences. Any appeal from the departmental courts is brought before the appeal courts of Bucharest, Craiova, Galatz or Jassy; and thence, if necessary, to the supreme tribunal, or court of cassation (*Curtea de Casaţie*), which sits in Bucharest.

Defence.—At the accession of Prince Charles, the Rumanian army consisted of raw levies, led by adventurers from any country, provided with no uniform, and, in many cases, armed only with pikes or sabres. Under Prince Charles universal and compulsory service was introduced. The present system, in which his reforms culminated, rests upon a law of 1891, modified in 1900 and 1908.

By this law the forces are divided into three sections. The first is composed of men between the ages of 21 and 30, enrolled in the field army and its reserves. Every citizen capable of bearing arms must serve from his 30th to his 36th year in the second section, or territorial militia, which musters in spring for shooting-practice and in the autumn for field manœuvres. In the militia are included soldiers who have served their time in the ranks, and recruits chosen by lot from the yearly contingent of conscripts but not immediately summoned for duty in the field army. Finally, every citizen between the ages of 36 and 46 belongs to the third section, called the *Gloata* (*Landsturm*), which can only be called upon for home service in war. In time of peace the field army consists of four complete army corps, with headquarters at Craiova, Bucharest, Jassy and Galatz; besides an independent brigade in the Dobrudja, and a separate cavalry division with headquarters at Bucharest. Its peace strength in 1909–10 was 4415 officers, 89,227 non-commissioned officers and men and 18,920 horses.[1] The infantry was armed with the Mannlicher magazine rifle (model 1893), the cavalry with the Mannlicher carbine, the horse and field artillery with Krupp quick-firing guns. On a war footing the field army would contain 225,000 combatants. It was estimated that the militia should ultimately furnish an additional force of 100,000 men, but up to 1910 this branch of the service was not completely organized. The arrangements for mobilization are otherwise very complete, and the field army is maintained in a high state of efficiency. The war budget for 1909–10 was £2,271,300.

The fortifications designed in 1882 by the Belgian engineer, General Brialmont, and completed at a cost of more than £4,000,000, form the keystone of the national defences. They consist of the Sereth Line, an entrenchment extending over a front of 45 m. from Galatz to Focshani, and intended to cover an army of defence against invaders from the north-east, and of the outworks which make Bucharest the largest fortified camp in the world, except Paris. All these fortifications, including the additional works at Galatz and Focshani, are strongly armed with Krupp and Gruson guns.

The Rumanian navy is divided into two squadrons; one for the Danube, with head-

[1] In 1911 the figures were 4495 officers, 93,644 men, 20,839 horses and 460 guns. The war strength was reckoned at 7000 officers, 280,000 men and 650 guns.

quarters at Galatz ; one for the Black Sea, with headquarters at Constantza. In 1909–10 the fleet comprised one cruiser, seven gunboats, eight torpedo-boats, six coastguard vessels, a training-ship, a despatch-boat, a ship for the mining service and numerous vessels for naval police. The state possesses a floating dock and a marine arsenal at Galatz.

Religion.—The State Church of Rumania, which is governed by a Holy Synod, professes the Orthodox Oriental creed. Its independence was formally recognized by the oecumenical patriarch of Constantinople in 1885. The Rumanian Church had claimed its independence from very ancient times, but under the Turkish suzerainty and Phanariote hospodars Greeks were generally elected as bishops, and the influence of the Greek patriarch at Constantinople came to be more and more felt. In 1864 it declared itself independent of all foreign prelates. In 1872 a law was passed by which the bishops were elected by the senate, the chamber of deputies, and the synod sitting as an assembly (the only other occasion on which provision is made for such an assembly is in the event of the throne becoming vacant without any apparent heir). It was subsequently decided to consecrate the holy oil in Rumania instead of procuring it from Russia or Constantinople ; but the Greek patriarch protested. Secret negotiations were entered into which came to a successful issue. The patriarch feared on the one hand that the growing influence of the Russian Church would give a colour of Slavism to the whole church, and that a Russian might eventually be appointed oecumenical patriarch at Constantinople, while the Rumanians hoped by means of the independence of their church to deprive the Russians of all excuse for interfering in their internal affairs under the pretext of religion. The Rumanians, although obtaining complete independence, agreed to recognize the patriarch at Constantinople as the chief dignitary of the Orthodox Church.

The metropolitan archbishop of Bucharest, officially styled metropolitan primate of Rumania, presides over the Holy Synod ; the other members being the metropolitan of Jassy (primate of Moldavia), the six bishops of Râmnicu Vâlcea, Roman, Hushi, Buzeu, Curtea de Argesh and the Lower Danube (Galatz) ; together with eight bishops *in partibus*, their coadjutors. Metropolitans and bishops are elected by the senate and deputies, sitting together. In Hungary there are a uniate metropolitan and three bishops belonging to the Rumanian church. The secular clergy marry before ordination ; and only regular clergy (*kalugari*) are eligible for high preferment. Although many convents had been closed and utilized for secular purposes, there were in 1910 no less than 168, including nunneries. The older convents are usually built in places difficult of access and are strongly fortified ; for in troublous times they served as refuges for the peasants or rallying-places for demoralized troops. The sequestration of the monastic estates, which in 1864 covered nearly one-third of Rumania, was due to flagrant abuses. Many estates were held by alien foundations, such as the convents of Mount Athos and Jerusalem ; while the revenues of many more were spent abroad by the patriarch of Constantinople. Religious liberty is accorded to all churches, Jews, Moslems, Roman Catholics, Protestants, Armenians and Lipovans having their own places of worship.

Education.—Primary education is free and compulsory, " where schools are available," for children between seven and eleven years of age. At the close of the 19th century, however, the accommodation was insufficient, the attendance limited in consequence, and the percentage of illiterates high ; reaching 88·5 % in some of the rural communes. Great improvements were effected between 1900 and 1907, the number of schools increasing from 3643 to 4463, and the pupils from 298,000 to 515,000. The state contributes to the maintenance of elementary schools, for the Vlachs in Macedonia, Bulgaria and Transylvania.

Secondary and higher education are also free. There are gymnasia, or grammar schools of four classes, roughly corresponding with the German sub-gymnasia ; and lyceums of eight classes, which answer to the German gymnasia. Up to the fourth class all pupils are taught alike in the lyceums ; in the fifth, however, they are divided into a literary or " humanist " section, and a scientific or " realist " section. The four upper classes are taught French and German ; English and Italian being added for the " realists," Greek and Latin for the " humanists." Technical instruction is given in the agricultural schools ; in various arts and crafts institutes, such as those of Bucharest and Jassy ; in the veterinary and engineering colleges of Bucharest ; in numerous commercial schools, and in schools of domestic economy for girls. In 1909–10 there were four ecclesiastical seminaries, seven training schools for teachers and eight military schools. The cost of education is largely borne by the communes, as well as by the state. At Bucharest and Jassy there are universities with faculties of law, philosophy, science and medicine and theology.

CHAPTER IV

HISTORY OF WALACHIA

The earliest record of the lands which constitute the kingdom of Rumania begins with the period immediately preceding their conquest by the Romans. From the 6th to the 12th century, wave after wave of barbarian conquerors, Goths, Tatars, Slavs and others, passed over the country, and, according to one school of historians, almost obliterated its original Daco-Roman population; the modern Vlachs, on this theory, representing a later body of immigrants from Transdanubian territory. According to others, the ancient inhabitants were, at worst, only submerged for a time, and their direct descendants are the Rumans of to-day. Each of these conflicting views is supported by strong evidence.

Towards the close of the 13th century, Walachia and Moldavia were occupied by a mixed population, composed partly of Vlachs, but mainly of Slavs and Tatars; in Great Walachia,[1] also called Muntenia, the Petchenegs and Cumanians predominated. Rumanian historians have striven, by piecing together the stray fragments of evidence which survive, to prove that their Vlach ancestors had not, as sometimes alleged, been reduced to a scattered community of nomadic shepherds, dwelling among the Carpathians as the serfs of their more powerful neighbours. The researches of Hăşdĕu, Xenopol and other historians tend to show the existence of a highly organized Vlach society in Transylvania, Oltland and certain districts of Hungary and Moldavia; of a settled commonalty, agricultural rather than pastoral; and of a hereditary feudal nobility, bound to pay tribute and render military service to the Hungarian crown, but enjoying many privileges, which were defined by a distinct customary law (*jus valahicum*). Although the characteristic titles of *voivode*, *knez* and *ban* (all implying military as well as civil authority) are of Slavonic origin, and perhaps derived from the practice of the later Bulgarian (or Bulgaro-Vlachian) empire, the growth of Vlach feudal institutions is attributed to German influences, which permeated through Hungarian channels into the Vlach world, and transformed the primitive tribal chiefs into a feudal aristocracy of *boiars* or *boyards* [2] (nobles).

With the 13th century, at latest, begins the authentic political history of the Vlachs in Rumania, but it is not the history of a united people. The two principalities of Walachia and Moldavia developed separately, and each has its separate annals. About the year 1774 it first becomes possible to trace the progress of these Danubian Principalities in a single narrative, owing to the uniform system of administration adopted by the Turkish authorities, and the rapid contemporary growth of a national consciousness among the Vlachs. At last, in 1859, the two principalities were finally united under the name of Rumania.

Tradition, as embodied in a native chronicle of the 16th century, entitled the *History of the Ruman Land since the arrival of the Rumans*, gives a precise account of the founding of the Walachian state by Radu Negru, or Rudolf the Black (otherwise known as Negru Voda, the Black Prince), voivode of the Rumans of Fogaras in

[1] *i.e.* Walachia east of the Olt, not to be confused with the Μεγάλη Βλαχία in southern Macedonia.

[2] In later Rumanian history there arose a class who obtained their rank by merit or favour, and did not necessarily bequeath it to their heirs. But the hereditary aristocracy also survived, and feudalism remained characteristic of Rumanian society up to 1860.

Transylvania, who in 1290 descended with a numerous people into the Transalpine plain and established his capital first at Câmpulung and then at Curtea de Argesh. Radu dies in 1310, and is succeeded by a series of voivodes whose names and dates are duly given; but this early chapter of Walachian history has been rudely handled by critical historians. A considerable body of Vlachs doubtless emigrated from Hungary at this time, and founded in Walachia a principality dependent on the Hungarian crown; but material is lacking for a detailed description of the movement.

In 1330 the voivode John Bassaraba[1] or Bassarab the Great (1310–38) succeeded in inflicting a crushing defeat on his suzerain King Charles I. of Hungary, and for fourteen years Walachia enjoyed complete independence. Louis the Great (1342–82) succeeded for a while in restoring the Hungarian supremacy, but in 1367 the voivode Vlad or Vladislav inflicted another severe defeat on the Hungarians, and succeeded for a time in ousting the Magyar governor of Turnu Severin, and thus incorporating Oltland in his own dominions. Subsequently, in order to retain a hold on the loyalty of the Walachian voivode, the king of Hungary invested him with the title of duke of Fogaras and Omlas, Ruman districts in Transylvania.

Under the voivode Mircea (1386–1418), whose prowess is still celebrated in the national folk-songs, Walachia played for a while a more ambitious part. This prince during the earlier part of his reign sought a counterpoise to Hungarian influence in close alliance with King Ladislaus V. of Poland. He added to his other titles that of "count of Severin, despot of the Dobrudja, and lord of Silistria," and both Vidin and Sistova appear in his possession. A Walachian contingent, apparently Mircea's, aided the Servian tsar Lazar in his vain endeavour to resist the Turks at Kossovo (1389); later he allied himself with his former enemy Sigismund of Hungary against the Turkish sultan Bayezid I., who inflicted a crushing defeat on the allied armies at Nikopolis in 1396. Bayezid subsequently invaded and laid waste a large part of Walachia, but the voivode succeeded in inflicting considerable loss on the retiring Turks, and the capture of Bayezid by Timur in 1402 gave the country a reprieve. In the internecine struggle that followed amongst the sons of Bayezid, Mircea espoused the cause of Musa; but, though he thus obtained for a while considerable influence in the Turkish councils, this policy eventually drew on him the vengeance of the sultan Mahomet I., who ultimately reduced him to a tributary position.

During the succeeding period the Walachian princes appear alternately as the allies of Hungary or the creatures of the Turk. In the later battle of Kossovo of 1448, between the Hungarians, led by Hunyadi János and the sultan Murad II., the Walachian contingent treacherously surrendered to the Turks; but this did not hinder the victorious sultan from massacring the prisoners and adding to the tribute a yearly contribution of 3000 javelins and 4000 shields. In 1453 Constantinople fell; in 1454 Hunyadi died; and a year later the sultan invaded Walachia to set up Vlad IV. (1455–62), the son of a former voivode. The father of this Vlad had himself been notorious for his ferocity, but his son, during his Turkish sojourn, had improved on his father's example. He was known in Walachia as *Dracul*, or the Devil, and has left a name in history as Vlad the Impaler. The stories of his ferocious savagery exceed belief. He is said to have feasted amongst his impaled victims. When the sultan Mahomet, infuriated at the impalement of his envoy, the pasha of Vidin, who had been charged with Vlad's deposition, invaded Walachia in person with an immense host, he is said to have found at one spot a forest of pales on which were the bodies of men, women and children. The voivode Radu (1462–75) was substituted for this monster by Turkish influence, and constrained to pay a tribute of 12,000 ducats; but Vlad returned to the throne in 1476–77.

The shifting policy of the Walachian princes at this time is well described in a letter of the Hungarian king Matthias Corvinus (1458–90) to Casimir of Poland. "The voivodes," he writes, "of Walachia and Moldavia fawn alternately upon the Turks, the Tatars, the Poles and the Hungarians, that among so many masters their perfidy may remain unpunished." The prevalent laxity of marriage, the frequency of divorce, and the fact that illegitimate children could succeed as well as those born in lawful wedlock, by multiplying the candidates for the voivodeship and preventing any regular system of succession, contributed much to the internal confusion of the country. The elections, though often controlled by the Turkish Divan, were still constitutionally in the hands of the boiars, who were split up into various factions, each with its own pretender to the throne. The princes followed one another in rapid succession, and usually met with violent ends. A large part of the population led a pastoral life, and at the time of Verantius's visit to Walachia in the early part of the 16th century, the towns and villages were built of wood and wattle and daub. Tîrgovishtea alone, at this time the capital of the country, was a considerable town, with two stone castles.

A temporary improvement took place under Neagoe Bassaraba (1512–21). Neagoe was a great builder of monasteries; he founded the cathedrals of Curtea de Argesh and Tîrgovishtea, and adorned Mount Athos with his pious works. He transferred the direct

[1] A. Sturdza gives a genealogical table, showing that Radu belonged to the great native dynasty of Bassarab or Bassaraba, which continued, though not in unbroken succession, to rule in Walachia until 1658, and in Moldavia until 1669.

allegiance of the Walachian Church from the patriarchate of Ochrida in Macedonia to that of Constantinople. On his death, however, the brief period of comparative prosperity which his architectural works attest was tragically interrupted, and it seemed for a time that Walachia was doomed to sink into a Turkish pashalic. The Turkish commander, Mahmud Bey, became treacherously possessed of Neagoe's young son and successor, and, sending him a prisoner to Stambul, proceeded to nominate Turkish governors in the towns and villages of Walachia. The Walachians resisted desperately, elected Radu, a kinsman of Neagoe, voivode, and succeeded with Hungarian help in defeating Mahmud Bey at Grumatz in 1522. The conflict was prolonged with varying fortunes until in 1524 the dogged opposition of the Walachians triumphed in the sultan's recognition of Radu.

But the battle of Mohacs in 1526 decided the long preponderance of Turkish control. The unfortunate province served as a transit route for Turkish expeditions against Hungary and Transylvania, and was exhausted by continual requisitions. Turkish settlers were gradually making good their footing on Walachian soil, and mosques were rising in the towns and villages. The voivode Alexander, who succeeded in 1591, and like his predecessors had bought his post of the Divan, carried the oppression still further by introducing a janissary guard and farming out his possessions to his Turkish supporters. Meanwhile the Turkish governors on the Bulgarian bank never ceased to ravage the country, and again it seemed as if Walachia must share the fate of the Balkan States and succumb to the direct government of the Ottoman.

In the depth of the national distress the choice of the people fell on Michael, the son of Petrushko, ban of Craiova, the first dignitary of the realm, who had fled to Transylvania to escape Alexander's machinations. Supported at Constantinople by two influential personages, Sigismund Báthory, prince of Transylvania (1581–98 and 1601–2), and the English ambassador, Edward Barton, and aided by a loan of 200,000 florins, Michael succeeded in procuring from the Divan the deposition of his enemy and his own nomination.

The genius of Michael " the Brave " (1593–1601) secured Walachia for a time a place in universal history. The moment for action was favourable. The emperor Rudolph II. had gained some successes over the Turks, and Sigismund Báthory had been driven by Turkish extortions to throw off the allegiance to the sultan. But the first obstacle to be dealt with was the presence of the enemy within the walls. By previous concert with the Moldavian voivode Aaron, on the 13th of November 1594, the Turkish guards and settlers in the two principalities were massacred at a given signal. Michael followed up these " Walachian Vespers " by an actual invasion of Turkish territory, and, aided by Sigismund Báthory, succeeded in carrying by assault Rustchuk, Silistria and other places on the right bank of the lower Danube. A simultaneous invasion of Walachia by a large Turkish and Tatar host was successfully defeated ; the Tatar khan withdrew with the loss of his bravest followers, and, in the great victory of Mantin on the Danube (1595), the Turkish army was annihilated, and its leader, Mustafa, slain. The sultan now sent Sinan Pasha, " the Renegade," to invade Walachia with 100,000 men. Michael withdrew to the mountains before this overwhelming force, but, being joined by Báthory with a Transylvanian contingent, the voivode resumed the offensive, stormed Bucharest, where Sinan had entrenched a Turkish detachment, and, pursuing the main body of his forces to the Danube, overtook the rearguard and cut it to pieces, capturing enormous booty. Sinan Pasha returned to Constantinople to die, it is said, of vexation ; and in 1597, the sultan, weary of a disastrous contest, sent Michael a red flag in token of reconciliation, reinvested him for life in an office of which he had been unable to deprive him, and granted the succession to his son.

In 1599, on the abdication of Sigismund Báthory in Transylvania, Michael, in league with the imperialist forces, and in connivance with the Saxon burghers, attacked and defeated his successor Andreas Báthory near Hermannstadt, and, seizing himself the reins of government, secured his proclamation as prince of Transylvania. The emperor consented to appoint him his viceroy (*locum tenens per Transylvaniam*), and the sultan ratified his election. As prince of Transylvania he summoned diets in 1599 and 1600, and, having expelled the voivode of Moldavia, united under his sceptre three principalities. The partiality that he showed for the Ruman and Szekler parts of the population alienated, however, the Transylvanian Saxons, who preferred the direct government of the emperor. The imperial commissioner, General Basta, lent his support to the disaffected party, and Michael was driven out of Transylvania by a successful revolt, while a Polish army invaded Walachia from the Moldavian side. Michael's coolness and resource, however, never deserted him. He resolved to appeal to the emperor, rode to Prague, won over Rudolph by his singular address, and, richly supplied with funds, reappeared in Transylvania as imperial governor. In conjunction with Basta he defeated the superior Transylvanian forces at Gorosló, expelling Sigismund Báthory, who had again aspired to the crown, and taking one hundred and fifty flags and forty-five cannon. But at the moment of his returning prosperity Basta, who had quarrelled with him about the supreme command of the imperial forces, procured his murder on the 19th of August 1601. Not only had Michael succeeded in rolling back for a time the tide of Turkish conquest, but for the first and last time in modern history he united what once had been Trajan's Dacia, in its widest extent, and with it the whole Ruman race north of the Danube, under a single sceptre.

Michael's wife Florika and his son Nicholas were carried off into Tatar captivity, and Serban or Sherban, of the Bassaraba family, was raised to the voivodeship of Walachia by imperialist influences, while Sigismund resumed the government of Transylvania. On his deposition by the Porte in 1610, there followed a succession of princes who, though still for the most part of Ruman origin, bought their appointment at Stambul. Walachian contingents were continually employed by the Turks in their Polish wars, and the settlement of Greeks in an official or mercantile capacity in the principality provoked grave discontent, which on one occasion took the form of a massacre.

The reign of the voivode Matthias Bassaraba (1633–54) was an interval of comparative prosperity. Matthias repulsed his powerful rival, Basil the Wolf, the voivode of Moldavia and his Tatar and Cossack allies. His last days were embittered, however, by an outbreak of military anarchy. His illegitimate son and successor, Constantine Serban (1654–58), was the last of the Bassaraba dynasty to rule over Walachia; and on his death the Turkish yoke again weighed heavier on his country. The old capital, Tîrgovishtea, was considered by the Divan to be too near the Transylvanian frontier, and the voivodes were accordingly compelled to transfer their residence to Bucharest, which was finally made the seat of government in 1698.

The mechanical skill of the Walachians was found useful by the Turks, who employed them as carpenters and pontonniers; and during the siege of Vienna in 1683 the Walachian contingent, which, under the voivode Serban Cantacuzene, had been forced to co-operate with the Turks, was entrusted with the construction of the two bridges over the Danube above and below Vienna. The Walachian as well as the Moldavian prince, who had been also forced to bring his contingent, maintained a secret system of communication with the besieged, which was continued by Serban after his return to Walachia. The emperor granted him a diploma creating him count of the empire and recognizing his descent from the imperial house of Cantacuzene, Serban meanwhile collecting his forces for an open breach with the Porte. His prudence, however, perpetually postponed the occasion, and Walachia enjoyed peace to his death in 1688. This peaceful state of the country gave the voivode leisure to promote its internal culture, and in the year of his death he had the satisfaction of seeing the first part of a Walachian Bible issue from the first printing-press of the country, which he had established at Bucharest. He had also caused to be compiled a history of Walachia, and had called to the country many teachers of the Greek language, whose business it was to instruct the sons of the boiars in grammar, rhetoric and philosophy.

Immediately on Serban's death the boiars, to prevent the Porte from handing over the office to the Greek adventurer who bid the highest, proceeded to elect his sister's son Constantine Brancovan. The Turkish envoy then in Bucharest was persuaded to invest Brancovan with the *caftan*, or robe of office, in token of Turkish approval, and the patriarch of Constantinople, who was also present, and the archbishop of Walachia, Theodosius, consecrated him together at the high altar of the cathedral, where he took the coronation oath to devote his whole strength to the good of his country and received the boiars' oath of submission. Brancovan, it is true, found it expedient to devote his predecessor's treasure to purchasing the confirmation of his title from the Divan, but the account of his coronation ceremony remains an interesting landmark in the constitutional history of the country. In his relations with the Habsburg power he displayed the same caution as the voivode Serban. In spite of defeats inflicted on the Turks by the imperial troops at Pozharevats, Nish and Vidin, in 1689, it was only by an exercise of force that they secured winter quarters in Walachia; and though, after the battle of Poltava in 1709, Brancovan concluded a secret treaty with the tsar Peter the Great, he avoided giving open effect to it. The tranquillity which he thus obtained was employed by Brancovan as by his predecessor in furthering the internal well-being of the country, with what success is best apparent from the description of Walachia left by the Florentine Del Chiaro, who visited the country in 1709 and spent seven years there. He describes the stoneless Walachian plain, with its rich pastures, its crops of maize and millet, and woods so symmetrically planted and carefully kept by Brancovan's orders that hiding in them was out of the question. Butter and honey were exported to supply the sultan's kitchen at Stambul; wax and cattle to Venice; and the red and white wine of Walachia, notably that of Pitesci, to Transylvania. The Walachian horses were in demand among the Turks and Poles. Near Ribnik and elsewhere were salt-mines which supplied all the wants of the Transdanubian provinces of Turkey; there were considerable copper mines at Maidan; and iron was worked near Tîrgovishtea. The gipsy community was bound to bring fifteen pounds weight of gold from the washings of the Argesh. Many of the boiars were wealthy, but the common people were so ground down with taxation that "of their ancient Roman valour only the name remained." To avoid the extortion of their rulers numbers had emigrated to Transylvania and even to the Turkish provinces. The principal Walachian city was Bucharest, containing a population of about 50,000; but, except for two large *hans* or merchants' halls built by Brancovan and his predecessor, and the recently erected palace, which had a marble staircase and a fine garden, the houses were of wood. The dress of the men was thoroughly Turkish except for their lambskin caps, that of the women half Greek, half Turkish. The houses were scrupulously clean and strewn with sweet herbs. Del Chiaro

notices the great imitative capacity of the race, both artistic and mechanical. A Walachian in Venice had copied several of the pictures there with great skill; the copperplates and wood engravings for the new press were executed by native hands. The Walachians imitated every kind of Turkish and European manufacture; and, though the boiars imported finer glass from Venice and Bohemia, a glass manufactory had been established near Tîrgovishtea which produced a better quality than the Polish. From the Bucharest press, besides a variety of ecclesiastical books, there were issued in the Ruman tongue a translation of a French work entitled *The Maxims of the Orientals* and *The Romance of Alexander the Great*. In 1700 Brancovan had a map of the country made and a copperplate engraving of it executed at Padua.

The prosperity of Walachia, however, under its "Golden Bey," as Brancovan was known at Stambul, only increased the Turkish exactions; and, although all demands were punctually met, the sultan finally resolved on the removal of his too prosperous vassal. Brancovan was accused of secret correspondence with the emperor, the tsar, the king of Poland and the Venetian republic, of betraying the Porte's secrets, of preferring Tîrgovishtea to Bucharest as a residence, of acquiring lands and palaces in Transylvania, of keeping agents at Venice and Vienna, in both of which cities he had invested large sums, and of striking gold coins with his effigy.[1] An envoy arrived at Bucharest on the 4th of April 1714, and proclaimed Brancovan *mazil*, *i.e.* deposed. He was conducted to Constantinople and beheaded, together with his four sons. A scion of the rival Cantacuzenian family was elected by the pasha's orders, and he, after exhausting the principality for the benefit of the Divan, was in turn deposed and executed in 1716.

From this period onwards the Porte introduced a new system with regard to its Walachian vassals. The line of national princes ceased. The office of voivode or hospodar was sold to the highest bidder at Stambul, to be farmed out from a purely mercenary point of view. The princes who now succeeded one another in rapid succession were mostly Greeks from the Phanar quarter of Constantinople who had served the palace in the quality of dragoman (interpreter), or held some other court appointment. They were nominated by imperial firman without a shadow of free election, and were deposed and transferred from one principality to another, executed or reappointed, like so many pashas. Like pashas they rarely held their office more than three years, it being the natural policy of the Porte to multiply such lucrative nominations. The same hospodar was often reappointed again and again as he succeeded in raising the sum necessary to buy back his title. Constantine Mavrocordato was in this way hospodar of Walachia at six different times, and paid on one occasion as much as a million lion-dollars (£40,000) for the office. The princes thus imposed on the country were generally men of intelligence and culture. Nicholas Mavrocordato, the first of the series, was himself the author of a Greek work on duties, and maintained at his court Demeter Prokopios of Moschopolis in Macedonia, who wrote a review of Greek literature during the 17th and beginning of the 18th centuries. Constantine Mavrocordato was the author of really liberal reforms. He introduced an *urbarium* or land law, limiting to 24 the days of *angaria*, or forced labour, owed yearly by the peasants to their feudal lord. In 1747 he decreed the abolition of serfdom, but this enactment was not carried into effect. But the rule of the Phanariotes could not but be productive of grinding oppression, and it was rendered doubly hateful by the swarms of Greek adventurers who accompanied them. Numbers of the peasantry emigrated, and the population rapidly diminished. In 1745 the number of tax-paying families, which a few years before had amounted to 147,000, had sunk to 70,000. Yet the taxes were continually on the increase, and the hospodar Scarlat Ghica (1758–61), though he tried to win some popularity by the removal of Turkish settlers and the abolition of the *vakarit* or tax on cattle and horses, which was peculiarly hateful to the peasantry, raised the total amount of taxation to 25,000,000 lion-dollars, about £1,000,000. The Turks meantime maintained their grip on the country by holding on the Walachian bank of the Danube the fortresses of Giurgevo, Turnu Severin and Orsova, with the surrounding districts.

But the tide of Ottoman dominion was ebbing fast. Already, by the peace of Passarowitz (Pozharevats) in 1718, the banat of Craiova had been ceded to the emperor, though by the peace of Belgrade in 1739 it was recovered by the Porte for its Walachian vassal. In 1769 the Russian general Romanzov occupied the principality, the bishops and clergy took an oath of fidelity to the empress Catherine, and a deputation of boiars followed. The liberties of the country were guaranteed, taxation reformed and in 1772 the negotiations at Focshani between Russia and the Porte broke down because the empress's representatives insisted on the sultan's recognition of the independence of Walachia and Moldavia under a European guarantee. Turkish rule was, however, definitely restored by the treaty of Kntchuk Kainardji, in 1774; and as from this period onwards Walachian history is closely connected with that of Moldavia, it may be convenient before continuing this review to turn to the earlier history of the sister principality.

[1] One of these, with the legend "CONSTANTINVS BASSARABA DE BRANCOVAN D. G. VOEVODA ET PRINCEPS VALACHIAE TRANSALPINAE," and having on the reverse the crowned shield of Walachia containing a raven holding a cross in its beak between a moon and a star, is engraved by Del Chiaro. They were of 2, 3 and 10 ducats weight.

CHAPTER V

HISTORY OF MOLDAVIA

According to the native traditional account, as first given by the Moldavian chronicler of the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, Dragosh the son of Bogdan, the founder of the Moldavian principality, emigrated with his followers from the Hungarian district of Marmaros in the northern Carpathians. The dates assigned to this event vary from 1299, given by Urechia, to 1342, given by the monastic chronicle of Putna. The story is related with various fabulous accompaniments. From the aurochs (*zimbru*), in pursuit of which Dragosh first arrived on the banks of the Moldova, is derived the ox-head of the Moldavian national arms, and from his favourite hound who perished in the waters the name of the river. From the Hungarian and Russian sources, which are somewhat more precise, the date of the arrival of Dragosh, who is confused with the historical Bogdan Voda (1349–1365), appears to have been 1349, and his departure from Marmaros was carried out in defiance of his Hungarian suzerain.

These legendary accounts seem to show that the Moldavian voivodate was founded, like that of Walachia, by Vlach immigrants from Hungary, during the first half of the 14th century. Its original strength lay probably in the compact Ruman settlements among the eastern Carpathians, first mentioned by Nicetas of Chonae, about 1164. The Moldavian lowlands were still held by a variety of Tatar tribes, who were only expelled after 1350, by the united efforts of Andrew Laszkovich, voivode of Transylvania, and Bogdan Voda, the first independent prince of Moldavia. Coins bearing the name of Bogdan are still extant; and there is an inscription over his tomb at the monastery of Radautzi, in Bukovina, placed there by Stephen the Great of Moldavia (1457–1504).

In the agreement arrived at between Louis of Hungary and the emperor Charles IV. in 1372, the voivodate of Moldavia was recognized as a dependency of the crown of St Stephen. The overlordship over the country was, however, contested by the king of Poland, and their rival claims were a continual source of dispute between the two kingdoms. In 1412 a remarkable agreement was arrived at between Sigismund, in his quality of king of Hungary, and King Ladislaus II. of Poland, by which both parties consented to postpone the question of suzerainship in Moldavia. Should, however, the Turks invade the country, the Polish and Hungarian forces were to unite in expelling them, the voivode was to be deposed, and the Moldavian territories divided between the allies. During the first half of the 15th century Polish influence was preponderant, and it was customary for the voivodes of Moldavia to do homage to the king of Poland at his cities of Kameniec or Snyatin.

In 1456 the voivode Peter, alarmed at the progress of the Turks, who were now dominant in Servia and Walachia, offered the sultan Mahomet II. a yearly tribute of 2000 ducats. On his deposition, however, in 1457 by Stephen, known as "the Great," Moldavia became a power formidable alike to Turk, Pole and Hungarian. Throughout the long reign of this voivode, which lasted forty-six years, from 1458 to 1504, his courage and resources never failed. In the early part of his reign he appears, in agreement with the Turkish sultan and the king of Poland, turning out the Hungarian vassal, the ferocious Vlad, from the Walachian throne, and annexing the coast cities of Kilia and Cetatea Alba or Byelgorod, the Turkish Akkerman. These cities he refused to cede to the sultan, and, about this period, he entered into negotiations with Venice and the shah of Persia, in the vain hope of organizing a world-wide coalition against

the Turks. In the autumn of 1474 the sultan Mahomet entered Moldavia at the head of an army estimated by the Polish historian Dlugosz at 120,000 men. The voivode Stephen withdrew into the interior at the approach of this overwhelming host, but on the 17th of January 1475, turned to bay at Rahova (Podul Inalt, near Vaslui) and gained a complete victory over the Turks. Four pashas were among the slain; over a hundred banners fell into the Moldavian hands; and only a few survivors succeeded in reaching the Danube. In 1476 Mahomet again invaded Moldavia, but, though successful in the open field, the Turks were sorely harassed by Stephen's guerilla onslaughts, and, being thinned by pestilence, were again constrained to retire. In 1484 the same tactics proved successful against an invasion of Bayezid II. Three years later a Polish invasion of Moldavia under John Albert with 80,000 men ended in disaster, and shortly afterwards the voivode Stephen, aided by a Turkish and Tatar contingent, laid waste the Polish territories to the upper waters of the Vistula, and succeeded in annexing for a time the Polish province of Pokutia, between the Carpathians and the Dniester.

Exclusive of this temporary acquisition, the Moldavian territory at this period extended from the river Milcovu, which formed the boundary of Walachia, to the Dniester. It included the Carpathian region of Bukovina, literally "the beechwood," where lay Sereth and Suciava (Suczawa), the earliest residences of the voivodes, the maritime district of Budzak (the later Bessarabia), with Kilia, Byelgorod and the left bank of the lower Danube from Galatz to the Sulina mouth. The government, civil and ecclesiastical, was practically the same as that described in the case of Walachia, the officials bearing for the most part Slavonic titles derived from the practice of the Bulgaro-Vlachian tsardom. The church was Orthodox Oriental, and depended from the patriarch of Ochrida. In official documents the language used was Slavonic, the style of a Moldavian ruler being *Nachalnik i Voievoda Moldovlasi*, prince and duke (= Ger. *Fürst* and *Herzog*) of the Moldovlachs. The election of the voivodes, though in the hands of the boiars, was strictly regulated by hereditary principles, and Cantemir describes the extinction of the house of Dragosh in the 16th century as one of the unsettling causes that most contributed to the ruin of the country. The Moldavian army was reckoned 40,000 strong, and the cavalry were especially formidable. Verantius of Sebenico, an eye-witness of the state of Moldavia at the beginning of the 16th century, mentions three towns of the interior provided with stone walls—Suciava, Chotim (Khotin) and Ncamtzu; the people were barbarous, but more warlike than the Walachians and more tenacious of their national costume, punishing with death any who adopted the Turkish.

In 1504 Stephen the Great died, and was succeeded by his son, Bogdan III. "the One-eyed." At feud with Poland about Pokutia, despairing of efficacious support from hard-pressed Hungary, the new voivode saw no hope of safety except in a dependent alliance with the advancing Ottoman power, which already hemmed Moldavia in on the Walachian and Crimean sides. In 1513 he agreed to pay an annual tribute to the sultan Selim in return for the sultan's guarantee to preserve the national constitution and religion of Moldavia, to which country the Turks now gave the name of Kara Bogdan, from their first vassal. The terms of Moldavian submission were further regulated by a firman signed by the sultan Suleiman at Budapest in 1529 by which the yearly present or *backshish*, as the tribute was euphoniously called, was fixed at 4000 ducats, 40 horses and 25 falcons, and the voivode was bound at need to supply the Turkish army with a contingent of 1000 men. The Turks pursued much the same policy as in Walachia. The tribute was gradually increased. A hold was obtained on the country by the occupation of various fortresses on Moldavian soil with the surrounding territory—in 1538 Cetatea Alba, in 1592 Bender, in 1702 Chotim (Khotin). Already by the middle of the 16th century the yoke was so heavy that the voivode Elias (1546–51) became Mahommedan to avoid the sultan's anger.

At this period occurs a curious interlude in Moldavian history. In 1561 the adventurer and impostor Jacob Basilicus succeeded with Hungarian help in turning out the voivode Alexander Lapushneanu (1552–61 and 1563–68) and seizing on the reins of government. A Greek by birth, adopted son of Jacob Heraklides, despot of Paros, Samos and other Aegean islands, acquainted with Greek and Latin literature, and master of most European languages; appearing alternately as a student of astronomy at Wittenberg, whither he had been invited by Count Mansfeld, as a correspondent of Melanchthon, and as a writer of historical works which he dedicated to Philip II. of Spain, Basilicus, finding that his Aegean sovereignty was of little practical value beyond the crowning of poet laureates, fixed his roving ambition on a more substantial dominion. He published an astounding pedigree, in which, starting from "Hercules Triptolemus," he wound his way through the royal Servian line to the kinship of Moldavian voivodes, and, having won the emperor Ferdinand to his financial and military support, succeeded, though at the head of only 1600 cavalry, in routing by a bold dash the vastly superior forces of the voivode, and even in purchasing the Turkish confirmation of his usurped title. He assumed the style of Βασιλεὺς Μολδαβίας, and eluded the Turkish stipulation that he should dismiss his foreign guards. In Moldavia he appeared as a moral reformer, endeavouring to put down the prevalent vices of bigamy and divorce. He erected a school, placed it under a German master, and collected children from every part of the country to be maintained and educated

at his expense. He also busied himself with the collection of a library. But his taxes—a ducat for each family—were considered heavy; his orthodoxy was suspected, his foreign counsellors detested. In 1563 the people rose, massacred the Hungarian guards, the foreign settlers, and finally Jacob himself.

The expelled voivode Alexander was now restored by the Porte, the schools were destroyed, and the country relapsed into its normal state of barbarism under Bogdan IV. (1568–72). Bogdan's successor, John the Terrible (1572–74), was provoked by the Porte's demand for 120,000 ducats as tribute instead of 60,000 as heretofore to rise against the oppressor; but after gaining three victories he was finally defeated and slain (1574), and the country was left more than ever at the mercy of the Ottoman. Voivodes were now created and deposed in rapid succession by the Divan, but the victories of Michael the Brave in Walachia infused a more independent spirit into the Moldavians. The Moldavian dominion was now disputed by the Transylvanians and Poles, but in 1600 Michael succeeded in annexing it to his "Great Dacian" realm. On Michael's murder the Poles under Zamoyski again asserted their supremacy, but in 1618 the Porte once more recovered its dominion and set up successively two creatures of its own as voivodes—Gratiani, an Italian who had been court jeweller, and a Greek custom-house official, Alexander.

As in Walachia at a somewhat later date, the Phanariote régime seemed now thoroughly established in Moldavia, and it became the rule that every three years the voivode should procure his confirmation by a large baksheesh, and every year by a smaller one. But Prince Basil the Wolf (Vasile Lupul), an Albanian, who succeeded in 1634, showed great ability, and for twenty years maintained his position on the Moldavian throne. He introduced several internal reforms, codified the written and unwritten laws of the country, established a printing press, Greek monastic schools, and also a Latin school. He brought the Moldavian Church into more direct relation with the patriarch of Constantinople, but also showed considerable favour to the Latins, allowing them to erect churches at Suciava, Jassy and Galatz. The last voivode of the Bassaraba family, Elias Voda, reigned from 1667 to 1669.

During the wars between Sobieski, king of Poland (1674–96), and the Turks, Moldavia found itself between hammer and anvil, and suffered terribly from Tatar devastations. The voivode Duka was forced like his Walachian contemporary to supply a contingent for the siege of Vienna in 1683. After Sobieski's death in 1696, the hopes of Moldavia turned to the advancing Muscovite power. In 1711 the voivode Demetrius Cantemir, rendered desperate by the Turkish exactions, concluded an agreement with the tsar Peter the Great by which Moldavia was to become a protected and vassal state of Russia, with the enjoyment of its traditional liberties, the voivodeship to be hereditary in the family of Cantemir. On the approach of the Russian army the prince issued a proclamation containing the terms of the Russian protectorate and calling on the boiars and people to aid their Orthodox deliverers. But the long Turkish terrorism had done its work, and at the approach of a Turkish and Tatar host the greater part of the Moldavians deserted their voivode. The Russian campaign was unsuccessful, and all that Peter could offer Cantemir and the boiars who had stood by him was an asylum on Russian soil.

In his Russian exile Cantemir composed in a fair Latin style his *Descriptio Moldaviae*, the counterpart, so far as Moldavia is concerned, to Del Chiaro's contemporary description of Walachia. The capital of the country was now Jassy, to which city Stephen the Great had transferred his court from Suciava, the earlier residence of the voivodes. It had at this time forty churches—some of stone, some of wood. Fifty years before it had contained 12,000 houses, but Tatar devastations had reduced it to a third of its former size. The most important commercial emporium was the Danubian port of Galatz, which was frequented by vessels from the whole of the Levant from Trebizond to Barbary. The cargoes which they here took in consisted of Moldavian timber (oak, deal and cornel), grain, butter, honey and wax, salt and nitre. Kilia, at the north mouth of the Danube, was also frequented by trading vessels, including Venetian and Ragusan. Moldavian wine was exported to Poland, Russia, Transylvania, and Hungary; that of Cotnar was in Cantemir's opinion superior to Tokay. The excellence of the Moldavian horses is attested by a Turkish proverb; and annual droves of as many as 40,000 Moldavian oxen were sent across Poland to Danzig. Moldavia proper was divided into the upper country or *T'erra de sus*, and the lower country, or *T'erra de josu*. Bessarabia had been detached from the rest of the principality and placed under the direct control of the military authorities. It was divided into four provinces: that of Budzak, inhabited by the Nogai Tatars; that of Cetatea Alba, the Greek Monkastron, a strongly fortified place; and those of Ismaila and Kilia. The voivodes owed their nomination entirely to the Porte, and the great officers of the realm were appointed at their discretion. These were the Great Logothete (*Marele Logofetu*) or chancellor; the governor of Lower Moldavia—*Vorniculu de t'erra de josu*; the governor of Upper Moldavia—*Vorniculu de t'erra de sus*; the *Hatman* or commander-in-chief; the high chamberlain—*Marele Postelnicu*; the great *Spathar*, or sword-bearer; the great cup-bearer—*Marele Paharnicu*; and the treasurer, or *Vistiernicu*, who together formed the prince's council and were known as *Boiari de Svatu*. Below these were a number of subordinate officers who acted as their assessors and were known as boiars of the Divan

(*Boiari de Divanu*). The high court of justice was formed by the prince, metropolitan and boiars: the *Boiari de Svatu* decided on the verdict; the metropolitan declared the law; and the prince pronounced sentence. The boiars were able to try minor cases in their own residences, but subject to the right of appeal to the prince's tribunal. Of the character of the Moldavian people Cantemir does not give a very favourable account. Their best points were their hospitality and, in Lower Moldavia, their valour. They cared little for letters, and were generally indolent, and their prejudice against mercantile pursuits left the commerce of the country in the hands of Armenians, Jews, Greeks and Turks. The pure-blood Ruman population, noble and plebeian, inhabited the cities and towns or larger villages; the peasantry were mostly of Little Russian and Hungarian race, and were in a servile condition. There was a considerable gipsy population, almost every boiar having several Zingar families in his possession; these were mostly smiths.

From this period onwards the character of the Ottoman domination in Moldavia is in every respect analogous to that of Walachia. The office of voivode or hospodar was farmed out by the Porte to a succession of wealthy Greeks from the Phanar quarter of Constantinople. All formality of election by the boiars was now dispensed with, and the princes received their *caftan* of office at Constantinople, where they were consecrated by the Greek patriarch. The system favoured Turkish extortion in two ways: the presence of the voivode's family connexions at Stambul gave the Porte so many hostages for his obedience; on the other hand the princes themselves could not rely on any support due to family influence in Moldavia itself. They were thus mere puppets of the Divan, and could be deposed and shifted with the same facility as so many pashas—an object of Turkish policy, as each change was a pretext for a new levy of baksheesh. The chief families that shared the office during this period were those of Mavrocordato, Ghica, Callimachi, Ypsilanti and Murusi. Although from the very conditions of their creation they regarded the country as a field for exploitation, they were themselves often men of education and ability, and unquestionably made some praiseworthy attempts to promote the general culture and well-being of their subjects. In this respect, even the Phanariote régime was preferable to mere pasha rule, while it had the further consequence of preserving intact the national form of administration and the historic offices of Moldavia. Gregory Ghica (1774–77), who himself spoke French and Italian, founded a school or "gymnasium" at Jassy, where Greek, Latin and theology were taught in a fashion. He encouraged the settlement of German Protestant colonists in the country, some of whom set up as watchmakers in Jassy, where they were further allowed to build an evangelical church. J. L. Carra, a Swiss who had been tutor to Prince Ghica's children, and who published in 1781 an account of the actual state of the principalities, speaks of some of the boiars as possessing a taste for French literature and even for the works of Voltaire, a tendency actively combated by the patriarch of Constantinople.

The Russo-Turkish War, which ended in the peace of Kutchuk Kainardji (1774), was fatal to the integrity of Moldavian territory. The house of Austria, which had already annexed Galicia in 1772, profited by the situation to arrange with both contending parties for the peaceful cession of Bukovina to the Habsburg monarchy. This richly wooded Moldavian province, containing Suciava (Suczawa), the earliest seat of the voivodes, and Cernauţiĭ or Czernovicz, was in 1774 occupied by Habsburg troops with Russian connivance, and in 1777 Baron Thugut procured its formal cession from the sultan.

CHAPTER VI

THE DANUBIAN PRINCIPALITIES

By the treaty of Kutchuk Kainardji Russia consented to hand back the principalities to the sultan, but by Article xvi. several stipulations were made in favour of the Walachians and Moldavians. The people of the principalities were to enjoy all the privileges that they had possessed under Mahomet IV.; they were to be freed from tribute for two years, as some compensation for the ruinous effects of the last war; they were to pay a moderate tribute; the agents of Walachia and Moldavia at Constantinople were to enjoy the rights of national representatives, and the Russian minister at the Porte should on occasion watch over the interests of the principalities. The stipulations of the treaty, though deficient in precision (the Walachians, for instance, had no authentic record of the privileges enjoyed under Mahomet IV.), formed the basis of future liberties in both principalities; but for the moment all reforms were postponed.

The treaty was hardly concluded when it was violated by the Porte, which refused to recognize the right of the Walachian boiars to elect their voivode, and nominated Alexander Ypsilanti, a creature of its own. In 1777 Constantine Murusi was made voivode of Moldavia in the same high-handed fashion. The Divan seemed intent on restoring the old system of government in its entirety, but in 1783 the Russian representative extracted from the sultan a decree (*hattisherif*) defining more precisely the liberties of the principalities and fixing the amount of the annual tribute—for Walachia 619 purses exclusive of various "presents" amounting to 130,000 piasters, and for Moldavia 135 purses and further gifts to the extent of 115,000 piasters. By the peace of Jassy in 1792 the Dniester was recognized as the Russian frontier, and the privileges of the principalities as specified in the *hattisherif* confirmed. In defiance of treaties, however, the Porte continued to change the hospodars almost yearly and to exact extraordinary installation presents. The revolt of Pasvan Oglu in Bulgaria was the cause of great injury to Walachia. The rebels ravaged Little Walachia in 1801–2, and their ravages were succeeded by those of the Turkish troops, who now swarmed over the country. Exaction followed exaction, and in 1802 Russia resolved to assert her treaty rights in favour of the oppressed inhabitants of the principalities. On the accession of Constantine Ypsilanti (1802–6) in Walachia, and of Alexander Murusi (1802–6) in Moldavia, the Porte was constrained to issue a new *hattisherif* by which every prince was to hold his office for at least seven years, unless the Porte satisfied the Russian minister that there were good and sufficient grounds for his deposition. This clause of the *hattisherif* was not enforced. All irregular contributions were to cease, and all citizens, with the exception of the boiars and clergy, were to pay their share of the tribute. The Turkish troops then employed in the principalities were to be paid off, and one year's tribute remitted for the purpose. The boiars were to be responsible for the maintenance of schools, hospitals and roads; they and the prince together for the militia. The number of Turkish merchants resident in the country was limited. Finally, the hospodars were to be amenable to representations made to them by the Russian envoy at Constantinople, to whom was entrusted the task of watching over the Walachian and Moldavian liberties. This, it will be seen, was a veiled Russian protectorate.

In 1804 the Serbs under Karageorge rose against the Turkish dominion, and were secretly aided by the Walachian voivode Ypsilanti. The Porte, instigated by

Napoleon's ambassador Sebastiani, resolved on Ypsilanti's deposition, but the hospodar succeeded in escaping to Petrograd. In the war that now ensued between the Russians and the Turks, the Russians were for a time successful, and even demanded that the Russian territory should extend to the Danube. They occupied the principalities from 1806 to 1812. In 1808 they formed a governing committee consisting of the metropolitan, another bishop, and four or five boiars under the presidency of General Kusnikov. The seat of the president was at Jassy, and General Engelhart was appointed as vice-president at Bucharest. By the peace of Bucharest, however, in 1812, the principalities were restored to the sultan under the former conditions, with the exception of Bessarabia, which was ceded to the tsar. The Pruth thus became the Russian boundary.

The growing solidarity between the two Ruman principalities received a striking illustration in 1816, when the Walachian and Moldavian hospodars published together a code applicable to both countries, and which had been elaborated by a joint commission. The Greek movement was now beginning to assume a practical shape. About 1780 Riga Velestiniul, a Hellenized Vlach from Macedonia who is also known by the purely Greek name of Rigas Phereos, had founded in Bucharest a patriotic and revolutionary association known as the Society of Friends (ἑταιρία τῶν φίλων) which gradually attained great influence. In 1810 Ignatius, the metropolitan of Walachia, founded a Greek literary society in Bucharest which soon developed into a political association, and many similar bodies were formed throughout the Greek world, and finally united into one powerful secret society, the Hetairia. Some of the members even cherished the fantastic hope of restoring the ancient Byzantine empire. In 1821 Alexander Ypsilanti, a son of the voivode, and an aide-de-camp of the tsar Alexander I., entered Moldavia at the head of the Hetaerists, and, representing that he had the support of the tsar, prevailed on the hospodar Michael Sutzu to aid him in invading the Ottoman dominions. To secure Walachian help, Ypsilanti advanced on Bucharest, but the prince, Theodore Vladimirescu, who represented the national Ruman reaction against the Phanariotes, repulsed his overtures with the remark " that his business was not to march against the Turks, but to clear the country of Phanariotes." Vladimirescu was slain by a Greek revolutionary agent, but Ypsilanti rashly continuing his enterprise after he had been repudiated by the Russian emperor, his forces were finally crushed by the Turks at Dragashani, in Walachia, and at Skuleni, in Moldavia ; and the result of his revolt was a Turkish occupation of the principalities. In 1822 the Turkish troops, who had committed great excesses, were withdrawn on the combined representations of Russia, Austria and Great Britain. The country, however, was again ravaged by the retiring troops, quarters of Jassy and Bucharest burnt, and the complete evacuation delayed till 1824, when the British government again remonstrated with the Porte.

By the convention of Akkerman between the Russians and the Turks in 1826 the privileges of the principalities were once more confirmed, and they were again ratified in 1829, under Russian guarantee, by the peace of Adrianople. By this peace all the towns on the left bank of the Danube were restored to the principalities, and the Porte undertook to refrain from fortifying any position on the Walachian side of the river. A Russian army occupied the country until the Porte fulfilled its promises. The principalities were to enjoy commercial freedom, and the right of establishing a quarantine cordon along the Danube or elsewhere. The internal constitution of the countries was to be regulated by an " Organic Law," which was drawn up by assemblies of bishops and boiars at Jassy and Bucharest, acting, however, under Russian control. The Organic Law thus elaborated was by no means of a liberal character, and amongst other abuses maintained the feudal privileges of the boiars. It was ratified by the Porte in 1834, and the Russian army of occupation thereupon withdrew. The newly elected hospodars, Alexander Ghica (1834–42) and George Bibescu (1842–48) in Walachia, and Michael Sturdza (1834–49) in Moldavia, ruled in accordance with the Organic Law. Their reigns were marked by the social, financial and political predominance of Russia, which had steadily increased since 1711. The treaty of 1774 had given Russia a firm foothold in Rumanian politics. This had been strengthened by the *hattisherif* of 1802 ; while the treaties of 1812, 1826 and 1829 had respectively yielded up Bessarabia, the Sulina mouth of the Danube and the St George mouth to the tsar. From 1834 to 1848 the Russian consul at Bucharest was all-powerful.

The revolutionary movement of 1848 extended from the Rumans of Hungary and Transylvania to their kinsmen of the Transalpine regions. Here its real object was the overthrow of Russian influence. In Moldavia the agitation was mostly confined to the boiars, and the hospodar Michael Sturdza succeeded in arresting the ringleaders. In Walachia, however, the outbreak took a more violent form. The people assembled at Bucharest, and demanded a constitution. Prince Bibescu, after setting his signature to the constitution submitted to him, fled to Transylvania, and a provisional government was formed. The Turks, however, urged thereto by Russian diplomacy, crossed the Danube, and a joint Russo-Turkish dictatorship restored the Organic Law. By the Balta-Liman convention of 1849 the two governments agreed to the appointment of Barbŭ Stirbeiŭ (Stirbey) as prince of Walachia, and Gregory Ghica for Moldavia.

On the entry of the Russian troops into the principalities in 1853, the hospodars fled

to Vienna, leaving the government in the hands of their ministers. During the Danubian campaign that now ensued great suffering was inflicted on the inhabitants, but in 1854 the cabinet of Vienna induced the Russians to withdraw. Austrian troops occupied the principalities, and the hospodars returned to their posts. One important consequence of the revolution had been the banishment of many rising politicians to western Europe, where they were brought into contact with a higher type of civilization. The practice initiated by the more liberal Phanariotes of sending Rumanian students to the French, German and Italian universities tended in the same direction. Statesmen such as I. C. Bratianu, D. A. Sturdza, S. I. Ghica, D. Ghica and Lascar Catargiu received their political training abroad, and returned to educate their countrymen. To this fact the surprisingly rapid progress of Rumania, as compared with the Balkan States, may very largely be attributed.

By the treaty of Paris in 1856 the principalities with their existing privileges were placed under the collective guarantee of the contracting Powers, while remaining under the suzerainty of the Porte—the Porte on its part engaging to respect the complete independence of their internal administration. A strip of southern Bessarabia was restored to Moldavia, so as to push back the Russian frontier from the Danube mouth. The existing laws and statutes of both principalities were to be revised by a European Commission, sitting at Bucharest, and their work was to be assisted by a Divan or national council which the Porte was to convoke for the purpose in each of the two provinces, and in which all classes of Walachian and Moldavian society were to be represented. The European commission, in arriving at its conclusions, was to take into consideration the opinion expressed by the representative councils; the Powers were to come to terms with the Porte as to the recommendations of the commission; and the final result was to be embodied in a *hattisherif* of the sultan, which was to lay down the definitive organization of the two principalities. In 1857 the commission arrived, and the representative councils of the two peoples were convoked. On their meeting in September they at once proceeded to vote with unanimity the union of the two principalities into a single state under the name of Romania (Rumania), to be governed by a foreign prince elected from one of the reigning dynasties of Europe, and having a single representative assembly. The Powers decided to undo the work of national union. By the convention concluded by the European congress at Paris in 1858, it was decided that the principalities should continue as heretofore to be governed each by its own prince. Walachia and Moldavia were to have separate assemblies, but a central commission was to be established at Focshani for the preparation of laws of common interest, which were afterwards to be submitted to the respective assemblies. In accordance with this convention the deputies of Moldavia and Walachia met in separate assemblies at Bucharest and Jassy, but the choice of both fell unanimously on Prince Alexander John Cuza (January 1859).

CHAPTER VII

RUMANIA UNITED

Thus the union of the Rumanian nation was accomplished. A new conference met in Paris to discuss the situation, and in 1861 the election of Prince Cuza was ratified by the Powers and the Porte. The two assemblies and the central commission were preserved till 1862, when a single assembly met at Bucharest and a single ministry was formed for the two countries. The central commission was at the same time abolished, and a council of state charged with preparing bills substituted for it. In May 1864, owing to difficulties between the government and the general assembly, the assembly was dissolved, and a statute was submitted to universal suffrage giving greater authority to the prince, and creating two chambers (of senators and of deputies). The franchise was now extended to all citizens, a cumulative voting power being reserved, however, for property, and the peasantry were emancipated from forced labour. Up to this point the prince had ruled wisely ; he had founded the universities of Bucharest and Jassy ; his reforms had swept away the last vestiges of feudalism and created a class of peasant freeholders. But the closing years of his reign were marked by an attempt to concentrate all power in his own hands. He strove to realize his democratic ideals by despotic methods. His very reforms alienated the goodwill of all classes ; of the nobles, by the abolition of forced labour ; of the clergy, by the confiscation of monastic estates ; of the masses, by the introduction of a tobacco monopoly and the inevitable collapse of the inflated hopes to which his agrarian reforms had given rise. His own dissolute conduct increased his unpopularity, and at last the leading statesmen in both provinces, who had long believed that the national welfare demanded the election of a foreign prince, conspired to dethrone him. In February 1866 he was compelled to abdicate ; and a council of regency was formed under the presidency of Prince Ion Ghica. The count of Flanders, brother to the king of the Belgians, was proclaimed hospodar of the united provinces, but declined the proffered honour.

Meanwhile a conference of the Powers assembled at Paris and decided by a majority of four to three that the new hospodar should be a native of the country. The principalities, however, determined to elect Prince Charles, the second son of Prince Charles Antony of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen. On a referendum, 685,969 electors voted in his favour, against 224 dissentients. Prince Charles was an officer in the Prussian army, twenty-seven years of age, and was related to the French imperial family as well as to the royal house of Prussia : his nomination obtained not only the tacit consent and approval of his friend and kinsman King William of Prussia, but also the warm and more open support of Napoleon III. The king of Prussia, however, had agreed that the new hospodar should be a native of the principalities, and could not therefore openly approve of Prince Charles's election. Acting on the advice of Bismarck, the prince asked for a short leave of absence, resigned his commission in the Prussian army on crossing the frontier, and hastened down the Danube to Rumania, under a feigned name and with a false passport. On the 20th of May he landed at Turnu Severin, where he was enthusiastically welcomed. He reached Bucharest on the 22nd, and on the same day, in the presence of the provisional government, took the oaths to respect the laws of the country and to maintain its rights and the integrity of its territory. In October Prince Charles proceeded to Constantinople and was cordially received by his suzerain, the sultan, who bestowed on him the firman of

BUCHAREST.

BUCHAREST, the capital of Rumania, a city of gardens and gilded cupolas, full of gipsies and pedlars and Russian sleigh-drivers and peasants in picturesque costumes, but modern in its improvements. "The Paris of the East," Rumania loves to call it.

investiture, admitted the principle of hereditary succession in his family, and allowed him the right of maintaining an army of 30,000 men. Rumania was to remain part of the Ottoman empire within the limits fixed by the capitulations and the treaty of Paris.

The first Rumanian ministry formed under the new prince was composed of the leading statesmen of all political parties, care being taken that the two provinces should be equally represented. A new constitution was unanimously passed by the chamber on the 11th of July. It provided for an Upper and Lower House of Representatives, and conferred on the prince the right of an absolute and unconditional veto on all legislation. Other reforms were urgently needed. There was an empty treasury, and the floating debt amounted to £7,000,000; maladministration was rampant in every department of the state; the national guard was mutinous, while the small army of regulars was badly organized and inefficient. The existence of famine and cholera added to the difficulties of the government, and in March 1867 the Lower House, by a majority of three, passed the laconic resolution, "The chamber inflicts a vote of blame on the government." As the result of this vote M. Kretzulescu, a Moderate Conservative, was called to the head of affairs, and I. C. Bratianu entered the government as minister of the interior. The new ministry, of which Bratianu was the leading spirit, showed considerable energy: a concession was granted for the construction of the first Rumanian railway, from Bucharest to Giurgevo, and the reorganization of the army was undertaken. Among other less judicious measures, a decree was passed ostensibly directed against all vagabond foreigners, but really aimed at the Jews, large numbers of whom, including many respected landowners and men of business, were imprisoned, or expelled, from Jassy, Bacau and other parts of Moldavia. This harsh treatment created intense indignation abroad, especially in France and Great Britain; and the emperor Napoleon wrote personally to Prince Charles, protesting against the persecution. The country could not afford to lose the goodwill of the emperor of the French, at that time one of the most powerful factors in Europe—in July 1869 Bratianu, although immensely popular, found it necessary to resign office, and with him fell the rest of the cabinet.

On the 15th of September 1869, Prince Charles married Princess Elizabeth of Wied, afterwards celebrated under her literary name of *Carmen Sylva*. In the same year the army was reorganized, and a rural police created. Every able-bodied citizen was rendered liable to give three days' work yearly towards the construction of roads, or to pay a small tax as an equivalent. An important railway concession, which subsequently caused grave political complications, was granted to the German contractors Strausberg and Offenheim.

Much excitement was aroused in Rumania by the outbreak of the war between Prussia and France. The sympathies of the Rumanians were entirely on the side of the French, whom they regarded as a kindred Latin race, while those of the prince were naturally with his native country. The excitement culminated in a revolutionary outbreak at Ploesci, where a hot-headed deputy, Candianu Popescu, after the mob had stormed the militia barracks, issued a proclamation deposing Prince Charles and appointing General Golescu regent. Owing to the loyalty of the regular army the insurrection was speedily quelled. But the feeling in the country was strong against the German sovereign, who seriously thought of abdicating when a jury acquitted the accused rebels. On the 7th of December he wrote confidentially to the sovereigns whose representatives had signed the treaty of Paris, suggesting that the future of Rumania should be regulated by a European congress.

A few days subsequently the prince learned that the German railway contractor Strausberg was unwilling or unable to pay the coupons of the railway bonds due on the 1st of January 1871, which were mostly held by influential people in Germany. This threw the responsibility of payment on Rumania, and was a severe blow to the prince, through whose instrumentality the loan had been placed. Matters were brought to a crisis by the Prussian government threatening to force the Rumanian government to provide for the unpaid coupons. The country was financially in no condition to comply. Bitter indignation prevailed against everything German, and culminated in an attack on the German colony in Bucharest on the 22nd of March 1871. On the following morning the prince summoned the members of the council of regency of 1866, and informed them of his intention to place the government in their hands. Lascar Catargiu and General Golescu, the only two members present, as well as Dimitrie Sturdza and other influential persons, declined to accept the responsibility. Catargiu offered to unite the different sections of the Conservative party in order to deal with the crisis. The prince accepted his offer. The elections took place early in May 1871, and the government, to which all the most respectable elements in the country had rallied, obtained a large majority. When parliament met in May the prince had a most enthusiastic reception. The anti-German feeling in the country had greatly subsided, in consequence of the crushing defeat of France; and in January 1872 the chambers passed a law by which Rumania undertook to pay the railway coupons. The German syndicate was satisfied, and the railway crisis ended.

Catargiu's ministry was the tenth that had held office in the five years since the prince's arrival, but it was the first one that was stable. In March 1875 the budget for 1876, amounting to £4,000,000, nearly double in amount that of the year 1866, was passed without difficulty, and on the 28th of the month the parliamentary session closed. It was the first

occasion in Rumania that the same chamber had sat for the whole constitutional period of four years, and also the first time that the same ministry had opened and closed the same parliament.

Only the fall of the Catargiu ministry saved the country from revolution. The leading Liberals had promoted a conspiracy for the arrest and expulsion of the prince, and the formation of a provisional government under General Dabija. The prospect of a return to power put an end to these machinations. Catargiu's ministry was succeeded by an administration under General Florescu, known as the " cabinet of the generals," and, a month later, by the so-called " ministry of conciliation " under M. Jepureanu. A commission of the chambers drew up an indictment against Catargiu and his late colleagues, accusing them of violating the constitution and the public liberties, squandering the state revenues, and other abuse of power. Unable to stem the tide of popular passion, which was crying for the impeachment of Catargiu, Jepureanu resigned office, and Bratianu formed a new Liberal cabinet, which guided the country through many eventful years.

CHAPTER VIII

THE RUSSO-TURKISH WAR

The reopening of the Eastern Question was destined to bring to a climax the great struggle of Rumania for existence and independence, and temporarily to throw into the shade all domestic questions. The insurrection in Bulgaria, with its accompanying horrors, followed by the deposition of sultan Murad and the succession of the sultan Abd-ul-Hamid, contributed to indicate the near approach of a Russo-Turkish war. Russia had shown symptoms of anger against Rumania for not having taken up a decided attitude in the approaching struggle, and the Russian ambassador Ignatiev had some months previously threatened that his government would seize Rumania as a pledge as soon as the Turks occupied Servia and Montenegro. Prince Charles decided to send a mission, composed of Bratianu and Colonel Slaniceanu (the minister of war), to the imperial headquarters at Lviadia. They were well received by the emperor (October 1876), but in spite of mixed threats and cajoleries on the part of Gorchakov, Ignatiev and others, Bratianu returned without having definitely committed his country to active measures.

On the 14th of November six Russian army corps were mobilized to form the army of the south under the grand duke Nicholas. A few days later two secret envoys arrived at Bucharest, the one M. de Nelidov, to negotiate on the part of the Russian government for the passage of their army through Rumania, the other Ali Bey, to arrange on behalf of the sultan a combination with Rumania against Russia. Prince Charles cleverly temporized with both powers. Negotiations with Russia were continued, and Bratianu was sent to Constantinople to put pressure upon Turkey to secure certain rights and privileges which would practically have made Rumania independent, except that it would still have paid a fixed tribute; but the conference of the powers assembled at that capital came to a definite end on the 19th of January 1877, when the Turkish government declined every proposal of the conference. Meanwhile the Porte, in issuing Midhat Pasha's famous scheme of reforms, had greatly irritated Rumanian politicians by including their country in the same category as the other privileged provinces, and designating its inhabitants as Ottoman subjects. A secret convention was signed between Russia and Rumania on the 16th of April, by which Rumania allowed free passage to the Russian armies, the tsar engaging in return to maintain its political rights and to protect its integrity, while all matters of detail connected with the passage of the Russian troops were to be regulated by a special treaty. On the 23rd of April Russia declared war against Turkey, and the grand duke Nicholas issued a proclamation to the Rumanian nation, announcing his intention of entering their territory in the hope of finding the same welcome as in former wars. The Rumanian government made a platonic protest against the crossing of the frontier, and the Rumanian troops fell back as the Russians advanced; provisions and stores of all kinds were supplied to the invading army against cash payments in gold, and the railways and telegraphs were freely placed at its disposal. The Rumanian chambers were assembled on the 26th of April, and the convention with Russia was sanctioned. The Ottoman government immediately broke off diplomatic relations with Rumania, and on the 11th of May the chambers passed a resolution that a state of war existed with Turkey. The fall of Plevna left the Russian army free to march on Constantinople, and on the 31st of January 1878 the preliminaries of peace were signed at Adrianople. They stipulated that Rumania should be independent and receive an increase of territory.

Peace between Russia and Turkey was signed at San Stefano on the 3rd of March. On the 29th of January the Rumanian agent at Petrograd was officially informed of the intention of the Russian government to regain possession of the Rumanian portion of Bessarabia, *i.e.* that portion which was ceded to Moldavia by Russia after the Crimean War. Rumania was to be indemnified at the expense of Turkey by the delta of the Danube and the Dobrudja as far as Constantza. The motive assigned was that this territory had not been ceded to Rumania, but to Moldavia, and had been separated from Russia by the almost obsolete treaty of Paris (1856). But the proposed exchange of territory roused the most bitter indignation at Bucharest. Bratianu and Cogălniceanu were sent to Berlin to endeavour to prevail on the representatives of the powers there assembled in June 1878 to veto the cession of Bessarabia to Russia; but the Rumanian delegates were not permitted to attend the sittings of the congress until the Powers had decided in favour of the Russian claim. The treaty of Berlin in dealing with Rumania decided to recognize its independence, subject to two conditions: First (Art. xlv.), that the principality should restore to the emperor of Russia that portion of the Bessarabian territory detached from Russia by the treaty of Paris of 1856, bounded on the west by the mid-channel of the Pruth, and on the south by the mid-channel of the Kilia branch and the Staryi Stambul mouth. Second (Art. xliv.), that absolute freedom of worship should be granted to all persons in Rumania; that no religious beliefs should be a bar to the enjoyment of any political rights; and, further, that the subjects of all the powers should be treated in Rumania on a footing of perfect equality. Article xlvi. declared that the islands forming the delta of the Danube, the Isle of Serpents, and the province of Dobrudja, as far as a line starting from the east of Silistria and terminating on the Black Sea south of Mangalia, should be added to Rumania. Other articles defined the international position of Rumania, while Article liii. decreed that it should have a representative on the European commission of the Danube. Bratianu wrote with some truth that the Great Powers by sacrificing Rumania were able to obtain more concessions for themselves from Russia, and Lord Beaconsfield was constrained to admit that "in politics ingratitude is often the reward of the greatest services." The Rumanians submitted reluctantly to the retrocession of Bessarabia; and the Dobrudja was occupied by Rumanian troops on the 26th of November 1878.

But Article xliv. of the treaty of Berlin caused tremendous agitation throughout the country, and almost provoked a revolution. Article vii. of the constitution of 1866 laid down that "only Christians can become citizens of Rumania"—in other words, all Jews were excluded from the rights of citizenship; and as no foreigner could own land in Rumania outside the towns, no Jew could become a country proprietor. Public opinion in Rumania rendered it almost impossible for any government to carry out the wishes of the Berlin tribunal. To do so involved a change in the constitution, which could only be effected by a specially elected constituent assembly. This body met on the 3rd of June, and sat through the entire summer. The irritation of the powers at the unexpected delay was so great that Great Britain proposed a collective note on the subject, to be executed by the Austrian cabinet; while Prince Bismarck threatened, if the Berlin proposition were not carried out, to refer to the suzerain power at Constantinople. At last, however, on the 18th of October, Article vii. was repealed, and it thus became possible for Rumanian Jews to become naturalized and to hold land. It was further decided to admit to naturalization the 883 Jewish soldiers who had served in the war; but with all other Jews individual naturalization was required, and this was hedged about by so many difficulties, a special vote of the legislature being required, with a two-thirds majority in each individual case, that although the compromise thus effected was accepted by the powers, the actual result was that, from 1880 to 1884, out of 385 persons who were naturalized in Rumania, only 71 were Rumanian Jews. As the process of naturalization has never been accelerated, the 300,000 Jews said to inhabit Rumania are still regarded as foreigners; and although liable to military service and to the payment of taxes, are unable to own rural land or possess electoral or other civil rights.

Italy was the first of the Powers to notify its recognition of Rumanian independence (December 1879); but Bismarck succeeded in prevailing on the Western Powers not to give official recognition until Rumania should have purchased the railways from their German owners. This unpopular measure caused some delay; but Great Britain, France and Germany formally recognized the independence of the country on the 20th of February 1880. Early in 1881 it was generally felt that the time had arrived for Rumania to be created a kingdom. On the 13th of March the tsar Alexander II. was assassinated, and the Rumanian opposition chose this occasion to accuse the Liberal government of aiming at republican and anti-dynastic ideals. To refute this charge, the ministry proposed the elevation of the Rumanian principality into the kingdom of Rumania. The prince accepted the resolution; within ten days the new kingdom was recognized by all the Great Powers, and the coronation took place at Bucharest on the 22nd of May 1881. The royal crown was constructed of steel made from Turkish cannon captured at Plevna.

CHAPTER IX

RUMANIA INDEPENDENT

RUMANIA was now comparatively, but not entirely, free from fears of serious foreign complications. Austria and Russia alike resented the decision to fortify Bucharest and the Sereth line, adopted by the Rumanian government in 1882. Relations with Russia had remained strained ever since the war. The delimitation of the Dobrudja frontier was still unsettled, and owing to Russian opposition was not finally disposed of till 1884. Expenses incurred during the war led to much controversy, especially when the Russian government claimed the return of £120,000 advanced to enable the Rumanians to mobilize, and considered by them as a free gift. A compromise was made, both parties withdrawing their claims, in April 1882.

Relations with Austria-Hungary were also on a very unpleasant footing. There were two principal subjects of discord—the navigation of the Danube and the "national question," *i.e.* the status of the Vlach communities outside Rumania, and especially in Transylvania and Macedonia. The Danube question became acute in 1881, 1883, and 1899; the national question is a more permanent source of trouble, affecting Austria-Hungary, Greece, Turkey and Bulgaria. King Charles, who naturally favoured the ally of Germany, and Bratianu, who regarded Russian policy with suspicion, endeavoured to promote a better understanding with Austria-Hungary. But there was a strong anti-German party in the country, especially among the old boiars and the peasantry. Community of creed, ancient traditional influence, the entire absence of Russian merchants, and the consequent avoidance of many small commercial rivalries, contributed to bring about a sort of passive preference for Russia, while the bitter disputes that had occurred with Germany on the question of railway finance had left a very hostile feeling.

In March 1883 the government decided to introduce various important changes into the constitution. Three electoral colleges were formed instead of four; a considerable addition was made to the numbers of the senate and chamber; trial by jury was established for press offences, except those committed against the royal family and the sovereigns of foreign states; these were to be tried by the ordinary tribunals without jury. A bill was passed endowing the crown with state lands, giving an annual rent of £24,000 in addition to the civil list fixed in 1866 at £49,000; another measure granted free passes on the railways and an allowance of £1 daily during the sitting of parliament to all senators and deputies. The revision of the constitution had estranged the two heads of the Liberal party, I. C. Bratianu, who was mainly responsible for the new measures, and C. A. Rosetti, who unsuccessfully advocated reforms of a far more democratic character. These two had been united by a most intimate friendship. One had never acted without the other. Rosetti was said to be the soul whilst Bratianu was the voice of the same personality. Henceforward Bratianu had sole control of the Liberal government. The revising chambers having fulfilled their special mandate, were dissolved in September 1884, and a new parliament assembled in November, the government, as usual, obtaining a large majority in both houses.

Since 1876 Bratianu had exercised an almost dictatorial power, and anything like a powerful parliamentary opposition had ceased to exist. But he had been too long in power; the numerous state departments were exclusively filled with his nominees; and some pecuniary scandals, in which the minister of war and other high officials were implicated, helped to augment his fast-growing unpopularity. New parties were

formed in opposition, and the National Liberal and Liberal-Conservative parties combined to attack him. The first of these maintained that the government should be essentially Rumanian, and, while maintaining friendly relations with foreign Powers, should in no wise allow them to interfere with internal affairs. They also advocated reduction of expenditure and the independence of the magistracy. The Liberal-Conservatives held generally the same views, but had as their ideal of foreign policy a guaranteed neutrality. Another party which now attracted considerable attention was that of the Junimists, or Young Conservatives. The name was taken from the Junimea, a literary society formed in Jassy in 1874 by P. Carp, T. Rosetti and Maiorescu, and transformed into a political association in 1881. Their programme for home affairs involved the amelioration of the position of the peasantry and artisan classes, whose progress they considered had been overlooked, the irremovability of the magistracy, and a revision of the communal law in the sense of decentralization. In financial matters they advocated the introduction of a gold standard and the removal of the agio on gold, also the introduction of foreign capital to develop industries in the country ; and as regards foreign policy, they were strong advocates of intimate and friendly relations with Austria-Hungary. Elections for a new chamber took place in February 1888, and the whole of the leaders of the opposition were elected, including Dimitrie Bratianu, the premier's brother, and Lascar Catargiu. I. C. Bratianu definitely retired on the 4th of April, after having held the premiership for twelve eventful years. Had he continued much longer in office it is probable that there would have been a revolutionary movement against the dynasty. During the previous parliament a Conservative manifesto, signed by Catargiu, D. Bratianu and other leaders of the opposition, openly threatened that if the ministers were not removed before the general election, the responsibility would be thrown, " not on those who served the crown, but on him who bore it " ; and the name of Prince George Bibescu had been openly mentioned as a possible successor.

In the new chamber elected in October 1888 only five members of Bratianu's party retained their seats. The most prominent statesman in the new Conservative-Junimist administration was P. Carp, who in the spring of 1889 succeeded in passing a bill which authorized the distribution of state lands among the peasantry. Despite this admirable measure, he was unable to retain office, and three changes of ministry followed. The Conservative-Junimist parliament nevertheless restored tranquillity to the country. On the 22nd of May 1891 the 25th anniversary of the king's accession was celebrated with great enthusiasm. Meanwhile the gold standard had been introduced (1889), and the financial situation was regarded as satisfactory. In December 1891 a stable cabinet was at last formed by Lascar Catargiu. The new ministry during their four years' tenure of office passed several useful measures through parliament. The state credit was improved by the conversion of the public debt ; the sale of the state lands to the peasantry was actively continued ; a law was passed making irremovable the judges of the court of appeal and the presidents of tribunals, and other important judicial reforms were carried out ; a mining law was passed with the object of introducing foreign capital ; and the commercial marine was developed by the formation of a state ocean service of passenger and cargo steamers. Great reforms, which had been unsuccessfully attempted by former governments, were made in the service of public instruction and in the organization of the clergy. In 1893 and 1894 commercial and extradition treaties and a trade-mark convention were made with Great Britain, Austria-Hungary and Germany. Meanwhile the Liberal opposition was being reorganized. On the death of I. C. Bratianu, in 1891, his brother Dimitrie was proclaimed chief of the united Liberal party, but he also died in June 1892, and the veteran statesman Dimitrie Sturdza was recognized as the head of the Liberals. In 1894 he started a very violent agitation in favour of the Rumanians in Hungary. Another popular opposition cry was " Rumania for the Rumanians." The new mining law, among other concessions, gave foreigners the right to lease lands for long periods for the working of petroleum, and this was denounced by the opposition as being hostile to national interests, and also as being against the spirit of the constitution, which prohibited foreigners from holding lands. The bill was carried by the government in April 1895, as well as another important measure favouring the construction of local railways by private contractors. The Liberal opposition protested, retired from the chamber, and took no further part in legislative proceedings. The Liberal party had been out of office for eight years, the Conservative-Junimist coalition had practically carried out its complete programme, and legislation was at a deadlock owing to the abstention of the Liberal opposition. As the electorate showed itself in favour of a change of ministry, Catargiu resigned, and a new Liberal government was formed by D. Sturdza.

The advent to power of a statesman who had recently been making such violent attacks on the Hungarian government caused some anxiety in Austria-Hungary. When once office was obtained, it was to the interest of the new government that the agitation should subside. The official opening by the emperor of Austria of the new channel through the Iron Gates of the Danube, on the 27th of September 1896, was the means of bringing about a great improvement in the relations between the two countries. It led to an exchange of visits between the emperor and King Charles, who also visited the tsar Nicholas II. in August

1898. The visit was the symbol of a reconciliation between the Rumanians and the Russians, the relations between whom had been the reverse of cordial since 1878. As regards home politics, the overwhelming majority of the Liberal party at the elections of 1895, instead of being a source of strength, proved the very reverse. It caused the party to split up into factions—Sturdzists, Aurelianists and Flevists, so called after the names of their respective chiefs. Sturdza himself soon had to retire. The head of the Orthodox Church, the Metropolitan Gennadius, had for some years past, as head of the philanthropic establishments founded by the princess Brancovan, desired to obtain the entire management of these wealthy foundations, and had made violent attacks on the two administrators, Prince George Bibescu and Prince Stirbei, both members of the Brancovan family. In the quarrel that ensued the prelate was openly accused of simony, of heresy, and other matters more suitable for a criminal court. After a public trial before the Holy Synod, he was found guilty of certain canonical offences, and sentenced to be deposed. The same night, he was seized by the police, and removed by force to a neighbouring monastery. This harsh treatment of the head of the Church led to an attack on Sturdza. On the 3rd of December 1896, the president of the council, M. Aurelian, was called on to reconstitute a Liberal cabinet, with the principal object of calming public opinion by the settlement of this question. Aurelian then appealed to the patriotic sentiments of the Conservative party to help to solve the difficulty, and with the aid of Lascar Catargiu and Tache Ionescu the following decision was reached: the Holy Synod was to reverse its judgment, and the metropolitan was to be restored to his ecclesiastical rank; but, after holding it for a few days, he was voluntarily to resign and to receive as compensation a handsome pension. Calm was thus restored, but Aurelian and his colleagues were not inclined to hand over their portfolios to Sturdza and his partisans. The struggle terminated in the success of Sturdza, who in April 1897 returned to power and remained president of the council until 1899. Few of the important measures promised in the Liberal programme were passed, one for the reform of public instruction being the most noteworthy. Sturdza's government, which had risen to power mainly on the national question, was also destined to fall on it. A popular agitation was raised on the subject of certain subsidies made by the Rumanians for the support of the Rumanian schools at Kronstadt in Transylvania, and Sturdza was accused of too great subserviency to the Hungarian government. The agitation culminated in street riots at Bucharest. On the same evening that Sturdza tendered his resignation to the king (April 1899) the veteran Conservative statesman Lascar Catargiu suddenly died.

The Conservatives, led by G. G. Cantacuzene, returned to office with an overwhelming majority. They were immediately confronted by an acute economic crisis. The financial position of the country had hitherto on the surface been very satisfactory. The public debt, mostly placed in Germany, amounted to about £51,000,000. The interest had been regularly paid. But the facility with which money had always been borrowed gave rise to great extravagance. Expenses which ought to have been defrayed out of the ordinary budget, such as the erection of magnificent public offices at Bucharest, were frequently defrayed out of the loans; and the custom had arisen when money was scarce of issuing treasury bonds. When the Conservatives came into office they found that the payment of 2½ millions of these bonds would shortly become due, and there were no resources in the treasury to meet them. Owing to the Transvaal War and other causes, the money market was most unfavourable, especially in Germany; and there was an almost entire failure of the harvest. The value of cereals exported in 1898 was about 9 millions sterling, in 1899 only 3½ millions. The government managed to extricate itself from its immediate difficulties in the autumn of 1899, by raising a loan of £7,000,000 in Berlin, but on very stringent terms. Besides paying a much higher rate of interest than heretofore, it bound itself not to contract any further loans until this one was paid. The Conservatives were united in wishing to meet the financial crisis by a moderate reduction of expenditure and a large increase of taxation, while the Liberal opposition advocated the permanent reduction of the annual expenditure by £800,000, which would necessitate the raising of £200,000 only by fresh taxation. The Conservative programme was naturally unpopular; Carp and the Junimists were unwilling to co-operate with the government, and, on the 26th of February 1901, D. Sturdza again became premier.

His administration lasted until the 31st of December 1904, and averted the impending bankruptcy of Rumania by a policy of strict retrenchment. In 1904 Sturdza was able to exceed the proposed limit of annual expenditure, £8,740,000, owing to a great increase in the value of the tobacco monopoly. Even a recurrence of agricultural depression during the same year left the national credit intact. Another financial reform was undertaken by the Conservatives, who returned to power on the 4th of January 1905, with G. G. Cantacuzene as prime minister, and in May floated the conversion loan, already described.

The chief causes of the agrarian insurrection in March 1907 have been outlined above (*Land Tenure*, p. 133). But an additional cause was the harsh treatment of the peasants on the state and communal lands leased to Jewish middlemen. At first an attack on the Jews alone, the rising soon became a *jacquerie* directed against all the large landowners. Numerous towns and villages were sacked and partly burned, and 140,000 soldiers were employed to suppress the revolt. On the 24th of March the Cantacuzene ministry resigned and was

succeeded by a Liberal government under the leadership of D. Sturdza, who completed the restoration of order by strong military measures and afterwards initiated remedial legislation. He abolished the system by which public lands were leased to middlemen, reduced the land tax on small holdings, and granted new facilities for obtaining credit to the peasants. After a general election in June 1907, Sturdza remained in office with an overwhelming majority. To meet the cost of agrarian reform, and of the reorganization of the army (1908), he introduced various fiscal changes, notably an alteration in the budget system, by which the total revenue and expenditure were shown for the first time (see *Finance*, p. 134).

Rumania was little affected by the political changes in the Balkan Peninsula (1908–10) coincident with the Turkish revolution, the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by the Dual Monarchy, the proclamation of Bulgarian independence and the erection of Montenegro into a kingdom. South of the Danube its chief political interest centred in the Kutzo-Vlach communities in Macedonia, which were the object of a Panhellenic propaganda most offensive to Rumanian nationalism. An *irade* of the sultan Abd-ul-Hamid had in 1906 recognized the existence of the Kutzo-Vlachs as a religious body (*millet*), forming an integral part of the Rumanian Church. This decision was regarded by the Greeks as a blow to their own interests, and Greek revolutionary bands were accused of persecuting the Kutzo-Vlachs. Even before 1906 there was keen rivalry between Greece and Rumania, and the "Macedonian question" was the underlying cause of the disputes which led to the *entente* (1910) with Turkey, and to the rupture of diplomatic relations between Greece and Rumania in 1905, 1906 and 1910.[1]

[1] For later events see Appendices, pp. 177–186.

5. SERVIA

CHAPTER I

PHYSICAL FEATURES

SERVIA[1] [*Srbiya*] is an inland kingdom of south-eastern Europe, situated in the north of the Balkan Peninsula. The frontier, as defined by the Berlin Treaty of 1878 is, roughly speaking, indicated by rivers in the north, and by mountains in the south. In the north, between Verciorova and Belgrade, the Danube divides Servia from Hungary for 157 m.; and between Belgrade and the border village of Racha the Save divides it from Croatia-Slavonia for 80 m. In the north-west the Drina flows for 102 m. between Bosnia and Servia; in the north-east the Danube, for 50 m., and the Timok for 23 m., constitute respectively the Rumanian and Bulgarian boundaries. Various mountain ranges mark the frontiers of Bosnia on the west, Turkey on the south-west and south, and Bulgaria on the south and south-east. According to the survey carried out by the Servian general staff in 1884 the area of the country is 18,782 sq. m.

Mountains.—The mountain groups which rise confusedly over almost the whole surface of the land, fall into two main blocks, one on either side of the river Morava. On the east of this river, three vast ranges, the Transylvanian Alps, the Balkans and Rhodope, encroach upon Servian soil; while on the west there is a chaos of mountain masses, outliers of the Bosnian and Albanian highlands.

Rivers.—The chief navigable river of Servia is the Danube, which enters the country at Belgrade and pierces the Transylvanian Alps by way of the Kazan (*i.e.* "Cauldron") Pass, near the famous Iron Gates. The Timok, which formed the Bulgarian frontier as long ago as the 9th century, springs in the western Balkans, or Stara Planina, and issues into the Danube, near Negotin, after a course of 70 m. Sooner or later, indeed, all the Servian rivers reach the Danube. The Save, which is also navigable, meets it at Belgrade, after being joined, at Racha, by the Drina, a Bosnian river, which rises on the Montenegrin border, 155 m. S. by W. Near Obrenovats the Kolubara also enters the Save, after traversing 45 m. from its source in the Sokolska Gora. Apart from frontier rivers, the most important stream is the Morava, which, rising on the western slopes of the Kara Dagh, a little beyond the Servian frontier, enters the country with a north-easterly course near the extreme S.E., and then turns N.N.W. and flows almost in a straight line through the heart of the kingdom to the Danube. Its total length is about 150 m. In the upper part of its course it is known as the Bulgarian Morava, and only after receiving the Servian Morava on the left is it known as the Morava simply or as the Great Morava. The Servian Morava is joined on the south by the Ibar, which comes from the Albanian Alps; the combined length of these rivers being about 130 m. The only other important tributary of the Great Morava is the Nishava, which it receives on the right, at Nish. This stream flows 68 m. W. by N. from its source among the foothills of the Stara Planina. The valleys of all these rivers, especially those of the Bulgarian and the Great Morava, and of the Nishava, contain considerable areas of level or low-lying country well suited for the growth of corn, and the low grounds along the Save and the Danube from the Drina to the Morava

[1] The English-speaking races alone write this word with a *v* instead of a *b*, *Servia* for *Serbia*; a practice resented by the Serbs, as suggesting the derivation of their name from the Latin *Servus*, "a slave."

are also well adapted for agriculture, except the tract of fenland called the Machva, in the extreme north-west.

Minerals.—Gold, silver, iron and lead were worked by the Romans, whose operations can still be traced in the Kostolats mine, near Pozharevats, and elsewhere. Even more ancient is the Avala mercury mine, near Belgrade. The heaps of débris which cover so many acres near Belgrade, on the Kopaonik foothills and in the Toplitsa valley, bear witness to the importance of this industry in the past. During the later middle ages the Servian mines brought in a large revenue to the merchant princes of Ragusa. They prospered greatly during the 14th century, but Turkish rule put a stop to this industry after 1459; and the revival only began in 1835, under the patronage of Prince Milosh. The richest coal and lignite seams occur among the north-eastern mountains, generally near the Danube or Timok, and along the Morava. They are worked by the state, by Belgian companies and by private enterprise, the output in 1907 being valued at £121,000. Lead is principally raised in the Podrinye, especially at Krupan; and at Kuchayna, in the Pozharevats department, where zinc and small quantities of gold and silver are obtained. Antimony is mined at Zayechar. Copper and iron are worked by Belgians at Maydanpek, the chief mining centre east of the Morava. Nickel, mercury, manganese, graphite, marble, sulphur and oil shales are found in various regions, but the mineral resources of the country, as a whole, remain almost undeveloped.

The numerous mineral springs are even more neglected than the mines. Waters rich in iodine and sulphur occur in the Machva. About 1878 an unsuccessful attempt was made to convert Arandyelovats into a popular health-resort. The baths near Nish and Vranya are comparatively prosperous, while the beautiful surroundings attract visitors even from abroad.

Climate.—The climate of Servia is on the whole mild, though subject to the extremes characteristic of inland Eastern countries. In summer the temperature may rise as high as 106° F., while in winter it often sinks to 13° or even 20° below zero. The high-lying valleys in the south are colder than the rest of the country, not only on account of their greater elevation but also because of their being exposed to cold winds from the north and north-east.

Fauna.—The wild life of the Servian highlands is unusually varied. A few bears and wild boars and lynxes find shelter in the remoter forests, with many badgers, wolves, foxes, wildcats, martens and weasels. Otters are common along the rivers; chamois may very rarely be seen on the least accessible peaks; roe-deer, red-deer, squirrels and rabbits people the lower woodlands; and hares abound in the open. The beaver is extinct. Among land birds may be enumerated several varieties of eagle, vulture, falcon, owl, crow, jay, magpie, stork, quail, thrush, dove, &c. Pheasants are easily acclimatized; grouse and woodcock are indigenous on the uplands of the north; partridges, in all districts. Game laws were instituted in 1898. Innumerable aquatic birds haunt the banks of the Save, Danube and Drina, and the lower reaches of the Timok and Morava; among them being pelicans, cranes, grey and white herons, and many other kinds of waders, besides wild geese, ducks, rail and snipe. Edible frogs, tree-frogs, lizards, snakes, tortoises and scorpions are found in all parts. The principal fisheries are in the Danube and Save.

Forests.—About one-tenth of the land is covered by forests, which give place, at an altitude of 5000 ft., to lichens and mosses. Little care was bestowed on forestry in the 19th century, apart from government supervision of the national and communal domains, a task usually delegated to the local mayor. Much of the finest timber was felled in the wars of 1876–1878 and of 1885, and the rights of grazing and wood-cutting also caused widespread destruction. The total forest area (official estimate, 1909) is about 3,800,000 acres, of which 1,625,000 belong to the communes and 1,375,000 to the state. Oaks and beeches predominate in the north; pines, often of gigantic size, among the fantastic white or grey rocks of the wild south-western ridges.

CHAPTER II

AGRICULTURE, COMMERCE AND COMMUNICATIONS

Agriculture.—Servian methods of farming remain in many respects primitive. Real progress was, however, achieved in the period 1890–1910, chiefly owing to improvements in agricultural education. Indian corn is the principal crop, for corn-cake forms the staple diet of the peasantry, while the grain is also used for feeding pigs, the heads for feeding cattle and the stubble for manure. The normal yield exceeds 5,000,000 bushels yearly, wheat coming next with a little less than 4,000,000. Flax, hemp and tobacco are also grown ; hemp especially near Leskovats. The cultivation of sugar-beet, introduced in 1900, became an important industry, but the attempt to introduce cotton failed. The native tobacco plantations meet all the local demand, except for a small quantity of Turkish tobacco imported for the manufacture of special blends. The best Servian wines are those of Negotin and Semendria. Before the appearance of *Phylloxera* in 1882 wine was exported to France and Switzerland, but in 1882–1895 thousands of acres of vines were destroyed. *Phylloxera* was checked by the importation of American vines and the establishment of schools of viticulture. The creation of state vine-nurseries, stocked with American plants, was authorized by a law of 1908. Orchards are very extensive, and all the fruits of central Europe will thrive in Servia. The chief care is bestowed on plums, from which is distilled a mild spirit known as *raki* or *rakiya*. The favourite kind of *raki* is *shlivovitsa* (the *sliwowitz* of Austria), extracted solely from plums. There is a considerable trade in dried plums and plum marmalade. Bees are very generally kept, the honey being consumed in the country, the wax exported. Mulberries are grown on many farms for silkworms ; sericulture is encouraged and taught by the state, and over 100,000 lb of cocoons are annually exported. Relatively to its population, Servia possesses a greater number of sheep (3,160,000 in 1905) and pigs (908,000 in 1905) than any country in Europe. Large herds of swine fatten, in summer and autumn, on the beech-mast and acorns of the forests, returning in winter to the lowlands. The Servian pig is pure white or black, but other breeds, notably the Berkshire and Yorkshire, are kept. Despite American competition and Austro-Hungarian tariffs the export of swine remains the principal branch of Servian commerce. Cheeses are made from the milk of both sheep and goats ; but cattle are mostly bred for export or draught purposes. The cumbrous wooden carts which afford the sole means of transport in many districts are generally drawn by oxen, although buffaloes may be seen in the south. The native horses, though strong, are, like the cattle, of small size.

Land Tenure.—More than four-fifths of the Servians are peasant farmers ; and the great majority of these cultivate the land belonging to their own families. Holdings are generally small, not exceeding an average of 20 acres for each household. They cannot be sold or mortgaged entire ; the law forbids the alienation for debt of a peasant's cottage, his garden or courtyard, his plough, his last six *yutara* [1] of land and the cattle necessary for working his farm. Besides the small farms there is the *zadruga*, a form of community which appears to date from prehistoric times, and mainly survives along the Bosnian frontier, though tending to disappear everywhere and to be replaced by rural co-operation. Under the zadruga system, each homestead or cluster of cottages is occupied by a group of families connected by blood and dwelling together on strictly communistic principles. The association is ruled by a house-father

[1] One *yutro* is the area which two oxen can plough in a day.

(*domanyin* or *staryeshina*) and a house-mother (*domanyitsa*), who assign to the members their respective tasks. The *staryeshina* may be the patriarch of the community, but is often chosen by the rest of the members on account of his prudence and ability; nor is his wife necessarily the *domanyitsa*. In addition to the farm work, the members often practise various trades, the proceeds of which are paid into the common treasury. The community sometimes includes a priest, whose fees for baptism, &c., augment the common fund. The buildings belonging to the homesteads are enclosed within an immense palisade, inside which a large expanse of fields is mostly planted with plum, damson and other fruit-trees, surrounding the houses of the occupiers. In the midst of these is the house of the *staryeshina*, which contains the common kitchen, eating hall and family hall of the entire homestead. Here all the members assemble in the evening for conversation and amusement, the women spinning, while the children play. The houses are mostly very small wooden structures, serving for little else but sleeping places. But that of the *staryeshina* is often of brick, and is invariably of better construction than the rest. The houses are often raised on piles, above the level of the floods which occur so frequently near the Save and Drina. Zadrugas were very prosperous, as they had always a sufficient number of hands at command, and their members combined to obtain implements and cattle. But with the establishment of order and security, the zadrugas began rapidly to disappear, a further cause of their dissolution being the fact that members could legally acquire private property (*osobina*). A new stimulus was given to agriculture by the encouragement which King Alexander personally extended to the establishment of rural co-operative associations on the Raiffeisen principles. The object of these associations is principally to facilitate the acquisition of improved implements and better breeds of cattle. No fewer than 100 of such credit societies were founded between 1894 and 1899. The total number of agricultural co-operative societies exceeded 500 in 1910; each has its tribunal (*Conseil des Prud'hommes*), which arbitrates in disputes; and all together, with the state-aided Co-operative Caisse, which lends money to the smaller societies, form a single great organization known as the General Union.

Small holdings were in themselves a hindrance to Servian agricultural progress, inasmuch as small farmers cannot afford the cost of scientific farming; hence the great success of co-operation. As a rule, also, the lots of ground belonging to one houshold or family do not lie together, but are dispersed in different, very often distant, parts of the village land. To meet this difficulty, a farmer with more crops than he can reap unaided will summon his neighbours to his assistance, supplying them with food, but no money, and binding himself to repay the service in kind. This form of voluntary co-operation is called *moba*. Another serious drawback to the economic position is that Servia has no seaboard, and that it is far from the nearest export harbours (*e.g.* Galatz, Salonica, Fiume). In such a situation the country is at the mercy of hostile tariffs.

Manufactures and Commerce.—The scarcity of labour prevents the growth of any great manufacturing industries. There is no native artisan class; for except in very rare cases, the people value their independence too highly to work in factories, or even to enter domestic service. A large proportion of the artisans throughout Servia are Austro-Hungarians or gipsies. The chief manufacturing industries are those for which the country supplies raw material, notably meat-packing, flour-milling, brewing, tanning and the weaving or spinning of hemp, flax and wool. There are also iron-foundries, potteries and sugar, tobacco and celluloid factories. A law of 1898 authorizes the government to grant concessions on very favourable terms to foreign capitalists willing to promote mining and manufactures in Servia; but in 1910 the number of large industrial establishments in the kingdom did not exceed 60, nor the number of hands employed 5000. There are a few domestic industries, such as the manufacture of sandals (*opanke*), and of the hand-woven carpet sand rugs made at Pirot, which are popular throughout the Balkan Peninsula.

Commerce.—The following table shows the value of Servian imports and exports for five years :—

Year.	Imports.	Exports.
1904	£2,437,000	£2,486,000
1905	2,224,000	2,879,000
1906	1,773,000	2,864,000
1907	2,823,000	3,259,000
1908	3,025,000	3,019,000

Cotton and woollen fabrics, leather, salt, sugar, iron and machinery are the principal imports, and come chiefly from Austria-Hungary, Germany and Great Britain. Large quantities of prunes, grain, meat, raw hides, eggs and copper are exported, chiefly to Austria-Hungary, Germany and Turkey.

Finance.—Up to 1878 the principal revenues were derived from the customs, excise and a sort of poll-tax. The government required the town and village communities to pay into the state treasury £1, 4s. per head of the able-bodied citizens living in the community,

and the municipal board made repartition of the total amount due to the government from its citizens according to their estimated wealth or earnings. That system yielded without the slightest difficulty about £750,000 annually. But the Berlin Treaty (1878) stipulated that Servia should construct part of the international railway to Constantinople and to Salonica, and should pay the Turkish landowners an indemnity for the estates which had been taken from them and divided among their Servian tenants. This and the necessity of indemnifying the people from whom, during the wars with Turkey (1876–1878), requisitions had been taken and money borrowed, forced the government to enter the European financial markets. Up to that time (1881) Servia had practically no public foreign debt, although it owed Russia about £240,000 lent privately for war preparations, and to its own people about £320,000 taken by a forced loan for war purposes. The first public loans were made in 1881 by French banks at 71¾ for 5 % bonds, and the expenditure had to be immediately increased to £1,240,000. The introduction of new taxes and the reorganization of the financial administration of the country could not keep pace with the increase of public expenditure, chiefly because the skupshtina was for some time reluctant to replace the old system of direct taxation by a more modern system. When in 1884 the new law of taxation was adopted, the situation became so serious that in 1895 a new scheme was adopted by which the government gave to the bondholders additional securities, the bondholders at the same time accepting the new 4 % unified bonds in exchange for their old 5 % bonds. The following table gives an analysis of the national debt on the 1st of January 1909:

Russian debt of 1876 (5 %)	£150,000
Lottery loan of 1881 (2 %)	989,000
Loan of the Uprava Fondova (5 %)	291,000
Primary loan of 1888	367,000
Unified loan of 1895 (4 %)	13,516,000
Railway loan of 1899 (5 %)	192,000
Monopoly loan of 1902 (5 %)	2,300,000
Loan of 1906 (4½ %)	3,767,000
Total	£21,572,000

The chief sources of revenue are customs duties, the state monopolies of salt, sugar, tobacco, matches and petroleum; national property, *e.g.* forests, railways, postal service; direct taxes, of which the most important are the poll-tax and the land taxes (graduated according to the quality of the land). The heaviest charges are for the service of the national debt and for the army; each of these items exceeded £1,000,000 in 1909. The estimated revenue and expenditure for five years are shown below:

Year.	Revenue.	Expenditure.
1905	£3,522,000	£3,505,000
1906	3,595,000	3,566,000
1907	3,618,000	3,615,000
1908	3,832,000	3,830,000
1909	4,145,000	4,132,000

Banks and Money.—The National Bank of Servia, founded in Belgrade in 1883, has a nominal capital of £800,000 (£260,000 paid). The Mortgage Bank (*Uprava Fondova*), founded in 1862, is a state institution which lends money for agricultural operations, &c. The Export Bank founded in 1901, is a private bank under state supervision, with branches in Budapest, Vienna, Berlin, &c. Its chief object is the furtherance of Servian foreign commerce.

In 1875 Servia adopted the decimal system for money, weights and measures, which came into actual use in 1883. The monetary unit is the *dinar* (franc) of 100 *paras* (centimes). In circulation there are gold pieces of 10 and 20 *dinars*; silver of 50 *paras*, and 1, 2 and 5 *dinars*; nickel of 5, 10 and 20 *paras*; and bronze of 2 *paras*. Twenty-five *dinars* equal £1 sterling.

Communications.—Until the middle of the 19th century, travellers through the Balkan Peninsula had a choice between two main routes, which started as a single highway from Belgrade, and up the Morava valley to Nish. Here two roads diverge; one branching off south-eastwards to Pirot, Sofia and Constantinople; the other proceeding southwards to Vranya, Usküb and Salonica. The railway which connects western and central Europe with Constantinople and Salonica takes the same course. That section of it which traverses Servia was begun in 1881 and finished in 1888. Branch lines give access to Kraguyevats, Zayechar, Semendria and other important towns, and there are several smaller railways in the valleys of the Save, the Danube, the Servian Morava and their tributaries. Apart from country lanes and footpaths, there are three classes of highways, controlled, respectively, by the nation, department and commune. Construction and repairs are, in theory, carried out by compulsory labour; but this right is seldom enforced.

CHAPTER III

POPULATION, GOVERNMENT AND RELIGION

With a continuous excess of births over deaths, and of male over female children, the population of Servia rose from 2,161,961 in 1890 to 2,493,770 in 1900, and to 2,911,701 in 1910.[1] More than four-fifths of this number belong to the Serbo-Croatian branch of the Slavonic race; while the remainder is composed of about 160,000 Rumans, 47,000 gipsies, 8000 Austro-Hungarians and Germans, and 5000 Jews. Many Servian emigrants returned, after 1878, to the territories which the Treaty of Berlin restored to their country. These territories had been occupied, under Turkish rule, by Albanians, west of the Morava, and by Bulgarians, along the Nishava; but, after 1878, the Albanians withdrew, and the Bulgarians were absorbed. The Rumans reside principally in the north-east, near the borders of their native land, and are peasant farmers, like the Serbs. The gipsies occasionally settle down, forming separate camps or villages, but in most cases they prefer a wandering life. They are often admirable artisans and musicians, almost every town possessing a gipsy band. The Germans and Austro-Hungarians control a large share of the commerce of the country; the Jews, as elsewhere in the Balkans, are retail traders. Anti-Semitism is not prevalent in Servia, owing to the smallness of the Jewish communities. The stature and features of the Serbs vary in different regions; but the northern peasantry are generally fairer and shorter than the mountaineers of the south. Those of the Shumadia are blue-eyed or grey-eyed. In many parts the prevailing types have been modified by intermarriage with Bulgars, Albanians and Vlachs; so that, along the Timok, for instance, it is impossible to make physiognomy a test of nationality. Even language does not afford a sure criterion, so nearly akin are many spoken dialects of Servian and Bulgarian.

National Characteristics.—Servia is a land without aristocracy or middle classes. Instead, it possesses an army of placemen and officials; but these being mainly recruited from the peasantry, do not disturb the prevailing social equality. In 1900 there was neither pauper nor workhouse in the country. The people, less thrifty and industrious than the Bulgars, less martial than the Montenegrins, less versatile and intellectual than the Rumans, value comfort more highly than progress. A moderate amount of work enables them to live well enough, and to pass their evenings at the village wine-shop; although, being a sober race, they meet there rather to discuss politics than to drink. Of politics they never tire; and still greater is their devotion to music, poetry and dancing. Perhaps their most characteristic dance is the *kolo*, sometimes performed by as many as 100 men and women, in a single serpentine line. Their national instrument, the *gusle* (gusla), is a single-stringed fiddle, often roughly fashioned of wood and ox-hide, the bow being strung with horse-hair. All classes delight in hearing or intoning the endless romances which celebrate the feats of their national heroes; for every true Serb lives as much in the past as in the present, and medieval wars still constantly furnish themes of new legends and ballads. It is largely this enthusiasm for the past which keeps alive the desire for a reunion of the whole race, in another Servian Empire, like that overthrown by the Turks in 1389. The fasts of the Orthodox Church are strictly kept; while the festivals, which are hardly less numerous, are celebrated even by the Servian Moslems. As in Bulgaria and Rumania, the *slava*, or patron saint's day, is set aside for rejoicing. A Servian crowd at a festival

[1] The census population of the chief towns was: Belgrade, 90,890; Nish, 24,949; Kraguyevats, 18,452; Leskovats, 14,236; Pozharevats, 13,411; Shabats, 12,100; Vranya, 11,439; and Pirot, 10,737.

presents a medley of brilliant and picturesque costumes, scarlet being the favourite colour. Men wear a long smock of homespun linen, beneath red or blue waistcoats with trousers of white frieze. The women's dress consists of a similar smock, a " zouave " jacket of embroidered velvet and two brightly-coloured aprons tied over a white skirt, one in front and one behind. The head-dress is a small red cap, tambourine-shaped, and strings of coins are coiled in the hair, or worn as necklaces and bracelets. In this manner a farmer's wife will often decorate herself with her entire dowry. During the cold months, both sexes wrap themselves in thick woollen coats or sheepskins, with the fleece inwards ; both are also shod with corded sandals, called *opanke*. The Rumanian women retain their native costume, and are further distinguished by the wooden cradles, slung over the shoulders, in which they carry their infants ; the Servian mothers prefer a canvas bag. Women weave most of the garments and linen for their families, besides sharing in every kind of manual labour. Turkish ideas prevail about their social position ; but so highly valued are their services, that parents are often unwilling to see their daughters marry ; and wives are in many cases older than their husbands. The relationship called *pobratimstvo* is only less common than in Montenegro ; equally binding is *kumstvo*, or sponsorship, *e.g.* the relation subsisting between the " best man " and the bridegroom at a wedding, or between godparents and godchildren. Persons connected by *kumstvo*, *pobratimstvo*, or cousinship, however distant, may not marry. At a funeral, the coffin is left open until the last moment—a custom found everywhere in the Balkans, and said to have been introduced by the Turks, who found that coffins were a convenient hiding-place for arms. The same practice is, however, common in Spain and Portugal. Few countries are richer than Servia in myth and folk-lore. The peasants believe in charms and omens, in vampires, were-wolves, ghosts, the evil eye and *vile* or white-robed spirits of the earth, air, stream and mountain, with hoofs like a goat and henna-dyed nails and hair. Even at the beginning of the 20th century, education had done little to dispel such superstitions.

Constitution and Government.—In 1903, after the murder of King Alexander Obrenovich, and the accession of Peter Karageorgevich, the constitution of 1889 was revived. By this instrument the government of Servia is an independent constitutional monarchy, hereditary in the male line, and in the order of primogeniture. The executive power is vested in the king, advised by a cabinet of eight members, who are collectively and individually responsible to the nation, and represent the ministers of foreign affairs, war, the interior, finance, public works, commerce, religion and education, and justice. The king and the national assembly, or *Narodna Skupshtina*, of 130[1] members, together form the legislature. A general election must be held every fourth year. Each member receives 15 dinars for every day of actual attendance, and travels free on the railways. There is also a state council which deals with various legal and financial matters. Of its 16 members, half are chosen by the king, and half by the Skupshtina. Apart from soldiers of the active army, all male citizens of full age may vote, if they pay 15 dinars in direct taxes ; while, apart from priests, communal mayors and state servants, all citizens of 30 years, paying 60 dinars, are eligible to the Skupshtina. The *Velika Skupshtina* or Grand Skupshtina is only convoked to discuss the most serious national questions, such as changes in the succession, the constitution or the territories of the kingdom. Its vote is regarded as a referendum, and its members are twice as numerous as those of the Narodna Skupshtina. For purposes of local government Servia is divided into 17 departments (*okrug*, pl. *okruzhi*), each under a prefect (*nachalnik*), who is assisted by a staff of civil servants, dealing with finance, public works, sanitation, religion, education, police, commerce and agriculture. He also commands the departmental constabulary or *pandurs*. Every department is divided into districts (*srez*), administered by the sub-prefect (*sreski nachalnik*) ; and the districts are sub-divided into communes or municipalities, each having its salaried mayor (*kmet* or *knez*), who presides over a council elected on a basis of population. Within the smaller spheres of their jurisdiction, the sub-prefect and mayor have the same duties to fulfil as their superior, the prefect. The mayor is, further, responsible for the maintenance of the communal granary, forests and other property. He presents to the councillors (*odbornik*, pl. *odbornitsi*) a yearly statement of accounts and estimates, which they may reject or amend. All taxes levied by the state are paid by the communal council, which assesses the property owned by each family under its authority, collects the amount due and has the right to retain one-fourth, or more, for local requirements. The central government cannot veto the election of a communal mayor or councillor.

Justice.—The highest judicial authority in Servia is the Court of Cassation, created in 1855 and re-organized in 1865. The court of appeal (1840) has two sections, one competent for Belgrade and the seven northern departments, the other for the rest of the kingdom. There are also departmental tribunals of first instance in every department, and a commercial court of first instance in Belgrade. Communal courts exist in every commune or municipality, and certain judicial powers are delegated to the police, under laws dated 1850-1904. Trial by jury, which existed among the Serbs at least as early as the 13th century and fell into desuetude under Turkish rule, was revived in 1871.

Defence.—The medieval citadels of Belgrade, Nish, Pirot and Semendria have no

[1] One member is chosen to represent every 4500 electors.

military value, but some strategic points on the Bulgaria frontier were entrenched between 1889 and 1899, while the modern forts of Nish, Pirot and Zayechar were strengthened and re-armed at the beginning of the 20th century. The defensive force of the country, as reorganized in 1901, consists of the national army (*narodna voyska*) and the landsturm. In the national army, which is organized in 5 divisions, with headquarters at Nish, Belgrade, Valyevo, Kraguyevats and Zayechar, every able-bodied citizen must serve (for two years in the artillery and cavalry or eighteen months in other branches) between his 21st and his 45th year. He must also belong to the landsturm at the ages of 17-21 and 45-50. Exemption from service is granted in a few exceptional cases. The national army consists of three *bans* or classes; the first is the field army, the units of the second exist in peace as cadres only, the third is unorganized. On a peace footing the strength of the army is 35,000 men; in war it might reach 225,000, including landsturm. The infantry were armed in 1910 with the Mauser rifle (model 99); the field artillery with quick-firing guns on the Schneider-Canet system.

Religion.—The Servian Church is an autocephalous branch of the Orthodox Eastern communion. It is subject, as a whole, to the ministry of education; for internal administration its governing body is a synod of five prelates, presided over by the archbishop of Belgrade, who is also the metropolitan of Servia. Belgrade is the only archiepiscopal see; the four dioceses are Nish, Shabats, Chachak and the Timok (episcopal see at Zayechar). The synod is the highest ecclesiastical tribunal; there are also two ecclesiastical courts of appeal and diocesan courts of first instance in every bishopric; the canon law is an important part of the law of the land. In 1910 there were 54 monasteries, but only 110 monks, all belonging to the order of St Basil. Studenitsa, near Kralyevo, and Manasia and Ravanitsa, near Chupriya, are the most interesting monasteries. Much political influence is wielded by the priests, who played a prominent part in the struggles for national independence. They marry and work, and sometimes even bear arms like their parishioners, from whom a large part of their income is derived, in the shape of offerings and fees. The remainder comes principally from church lands; only the highest dignitaries being paid by the state. No able-bodied man may become a priest or monk unless he has served in the army. Liberty of conscience is unrestricted. Liberty of worship is accorded to Roman Catholics, Jews, Mahommedans and certain Protestant communities. The Mahommedans (about 3000 Turks and 11,000 gipsies) are the largest religious body apart from the national Church.

Education.—In 1910, 17 % of the population could read and write. Primary education in the state schools is free and compulsory; the reading of Church Slavonic, nature-study and agriculture (for boys), domestic science (for girls), certain handicrafts, singing and gymnastics are among the subjects taught. There are higher schools (mostly *Real-Gymnasien*) in many of the larger towns, besides (1910) one theological seminary, 4 training schools for teachers, 4 technical schools, a military academy, and 5 secondary schools for girls. The communes and municipalities pay the entire cost of primary education, except the salaries of teachers, which, with the cost of higher education, are paid by the state. In February 1905 the Great School (*Velika Shkola*) in Belgrade was reorganized as the University of Servia, with faculties of theology, philosophy, law, medicine and engineering. Other important institutions of a semi-educational character are the Royal Servian Academy (1836), which controls the national museum and national library in Belgrade, and publishes periodicals, &c.; the ethnographical museum (1891), the natural history museum (1904), the national theatre (1890), the State Archives (1866, reorganized 1901), and the state printing office (1831), all in Belgrade.

BELGRADE.

BELGRADE on the Save, the capital of Servia, a city of white houses, whence its name which means "White Castle." It has been many times conquered and re-conquered, and Hungary, Austria, Turkey have in turn held rule there.

DURAZZO.

The seaport of DURAZZO on the Adriatic is the capital of the newly-created Principality of Albania. It has been one of the favourite points of debarcation for armies wishing to enter Balkan territory from the west ever since the Roman armies marched thence to Thessalonica.

CHAPTER IV

EARLY HISTORY

THE Serbs (*Srbi*, as they call themselves) are a Slavonic nation, ethnically and by language the same as the Croats (*Hrvati*, *Horvati*, *Croati*). The Croats, however, are Roman Catholics and use the Latin alphabet, while the Serbs belong to the Orthodox Church and use the Cyrillic alphabet, augmented by special signs for the special sounds of the Serb language.

The earliest mention of the Serbs is to be found in Ptolemy (Σίρβοι) and in Pliny (*Sirbi*). Nothing is known of their earlier history except that they lived as an agricultural people in Galicia, near the sources of the rivers Wissla and Dniester. In the beginning of the 6th century they descended to the shores of the Black Sea. Thence they began to move on in a westerly direction along the left shore of the Danube, crossed that river and occupied the north-western corner of the Balkan Peninsula. According to the emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the emperor Heraclius (610–640) invited the Serbs to come over to settle down in the devastated north-western provinces of the Byzantine empire and to defend them against the incursions of the Avars. According to newer investigations, Heraclius only made peace with them, confirming them in the possession of the provinces which they already had occupied, and obtaining from them at the same time the recognition of his suzerainty. Their known history as a Balkan nation begins towards the middle of the 7th century.

The Zhupaniyas.—In their new settlements the Serbs did not form at once a united political organization. The clans (*plemena*, sing. *pleme*), more or less related to each other, occupied a certain territory, which as a geographical and political unit was called *Zhupa* or *Zhupaniya* (county), the political and military chief of which was called *Zhupan*. The country was divided into many such Zhupaniyas, which were originally independent of each other. The history of the Serbs during the first five centuries after their arrival in their present country was a struggle between the attempts at union and centralization of the Zhupaniyas into one state under one government, and the resistance to such union and centralization, a struggle between the centripetal and the centrifugal political forces. The more powerful Zhupan was tempted to subjugate and absorb the neighbouring less powerful Zhupaniyas. If successful, he would take the title of *Veliki Zhupan* (Grand Zhupan). But such unions were followed again and again by decentralization and disruption. It is not to be wondered at that this struggle gave occasion for wars between the Zhupaniyas, for civil wars within the Zhupaniyas, for popular risings, court revolutions, dethronements, political assassinations and such like. The earlier history of the Serbs on the Balkan territory is especially turbulent and bloody. One of the minor causes of that turbulence is to be found in the struggle between the ancient Slavonic order of inheritance, according to which a Zhupan ought to be succeeded by the oldest member of the family and not necessarily by his own son, and the natural desire of every ruler that his own son should inherit the throne.

This internal political process was complicated by the struggle between the Greek Church and Greek emperors on the one side, and the Roman Catholic Church and the Roman Catholic Powers (Venice and Hungary) on the other side, for the possession of exclusive ecclesiastical and political influence in the provinces occupied by the Serbs. The danger increased when the Bulgarians came, towards the end of the 7th century, and formed a powerful kingdom on the eastern and south-eastern frontiers of the Serbs.

Practically from the 8th to the 12th century the bulk of the Serbs was under either Bulgarian or Greek suzerainty, while the Serbo-Croat provinces of Dalmatia acknowledged either Venetian or Hungarian supremacy.

The Visheslav Dynasty.—The first Serb princes who worked with more or less success at the union of several Zhupaniyas into one state, belonged to what might be called "the Visheslav dynasty." Zhupan Visheslav lived in the beginning of the 9th century, and seems to have been the descendant of that leader of the Serbs who signed the settlement treaty with the emperor Heraclius towards the middle of the 7th century. His ancestral Zhupaniya comprised Tara, Piva, Lim (the neck of land between the Montenegro and Servia of our days). Visheslav's son Radoslav, his grandson Prissegoy, and his great-grandson Vlastimir, continued his work. Vlastimir successfully defended the western provinces of Servia against the Bulgarian attacks, although the eastern provinces (Branichevo, Morava, Timok, Vardar, Podrimlye) were occupied by the Bulgars. The Bulgarian danger, and probably the energetic and successful operations of the Greek emperor Basil the Macedonian (867–886), determined the Servian Zhupans to acknowledge again the suzerainty of the Greek emperors. One of the important consequences of this new vassalship to the Byzantine empire was that the entire Servian people embraced Christianity, between 871 and 875. In all important transactions the Servians were led by the Grand Zhupan Mutimir Visheslavich (d. 891). During the reign of his heirs almost all the Servian provinces were conquered by the Bulgarian Tsar Simeon (924). In 931 Chaslav, one of the princes of the Visheslav dynasty, liberated the largest part of the Servian territory from Bulgarian domination, but to maintain that liberty he had to acknowledge the Byzantine emperors as his suzerains.

The Princes of Zetta and the First Serb Kingdom.—Towards the end of the 9th century the political centre of the Serbs was transferred to Zetta (Zeta or Zenta) and the Primorye (Sea-Coast). The prince (sometimes called king) of Zetta, Yovan Vladimir, tried to stop the triumphal march of the Bulgarian Tsar Samuel through the Serb provinces, but in 989 was defeated, made prisoner and sent to Samuel's capital, Prespa. The historical fact that Vladimir married Kossara, the daughter of Samuel, and was sent back to Zetta as reigning prince under the Bulgarian suzerainty, forms the subject of the first Serb novel, *Vladimir and Kossara*, as early as the 13th century. Vladimir, who seems to have been a noble-minded and generous man, was murdered by Samuel's heir, Tsar Vladislav (1015). By the Christians of both churches in Albania he is to this day venerated as a saint. But after the death of Samuel the Bulgarian power rapidly lost the Serb provinces, which, to get rid of the Bulgarians, again acknowledged the Greek overlordship. About 1042, however, Prince Voislav of Travuniya (Trebinje), cousin of the assassinated Vladimir of Zetta, started a successful insurrection against the Greeks, and united under his own rule Travuniya, Zahumlye and Zetta. His son Michael Voislavich annexed the important Zhupaniya of Rashka (Rascia or Rassia), and in 1077 proclaimed himself a king (*rex*), receiving the crown from Pope Gregory VII. His son Bodin continued the work of his father, and enlarged the first Serb kingdom by annexing territories which up to that time were under direct Greek rule. A body of Crusaders under Count Raymond of Toulouse passed through Bodin's kingdom about 1101. After Bodin's death the civil wars between his sons and relatives materially weakened the first Serb kingdom. Bosnia reclaimed her own independence; so did Rashka, whose Grand Zhupans came forward as leaders of the Serb national policy, which aimed at freedom from Greek suzerainty and the union of all the Serb Zhupaniyas into one kingdom under one king. The task was difficult enough, as the Byzantine empire, then under the reign of the energetic Manuel Comnenus, regained much of its lost power and influence. About the middle of the 12th century all the Serb Zhupaniyas were acknowledging the suzerainty of the Byzantine emperors.

The Nemanyich Dynasty and the Serb Empire.—A change for the better began when Stephen Nemanya became the Grand Zhupan of Rashka (1169). He succeeded in uniting all the Serb countries under his rule, and although he never took the title of king, he was the real founder of the Serb kingdom and of the royal dynasty of Nemanyich, which reigned over the Serb people for nearly 200 years. The youngest son of Stephen Nemanya, Prince Rastko, secretly left his father's royal court, went to a convent in Mount Athos, made himself a monk, and afterwards, under the name of Sava, became the first archbishop of Servia. As such he established eight bishoprics and encouraged schools and learning. He is regarded as the great patron and protector of education among the Serbs, as a saint, and as one of the greatest statesmen in the national history. After Stephen Nemanya and Sava the most distinguished members of the Nemanyich dynasty were Urosh I. (1242–1276), his son Milutin (1282–1321) and Stephen Dushan[1] (1331–1355). Urosh married Helen, a French princess of the house de Courtenay, and through her he kept friendly relations with the French court of Charles of Anjou in Naples. He endeavoured to negotiate an alliance between Serbs and French for the overthrow and partition of the Byzantine empire. His son Milutin continued that policy for some time, and increased his territory by taking several fortified places from the Greeks; but later he joined the Greeks under the emperor Andronicus

[1] *Dushan* is a term of endearment, derived from *dusha*, "the soul," and not, as formerly believed by Western philologists, from *dushiti*, "to strangle."

against the Turks. Milutin's grandson, Stephen Dushan, was a great soldier and statesman. Seeing the danger which menaced the disorganized Byzantine empire from the Turks, he thought the best plan to prevent the Turkish invasion of the Balkan Peninsula would be to replace that empire by a Serbo-Greek empire. He took from the Greeks Albania and Macedonia excepting Salonica, Kastoria and Iannina. Towards the end of 1345 he proclaimed himself "emperor of the Serbs and the Greeks," and was as such solemnly crowned at Usküb on Easter Day 1346. At the same time he raised the archbishop of Ipek, the primate of Servia, to the dignity of patriarch. Three years later he convoked the *Sabor* (parliament) at Usküb to begin a codification of the laws and legal usages. The result was the publication, in 1349, of the *Zakonik Tsara Dushana* (Tsar Dushan's Book of Laws), a code of great historical interest which proves that Servia was not much behind the foremost European states in civilization. In 1355 Dushan began a new campaign against the Greeks, the object of which was to unite Greeks, Serbs and Bulgars into one empire, and by their united forces prevent the Turkish power taking root on European ground. To attain that object he was making preparations for a siege of Constantinople, but in the midst of these preparations, or, as some historians assert, on the march towards Constantinople, he died suddenly at the village of Deabolis on the 20th of December 1355. His only son Urosh, a young man of nineteen, seemed physically and mentally incapable of holding together an empire composed of such different races and upheaving with such divergent interests. Some of the powerful viceroys of Dushan's provinces speedily made themselves independent. The most prominent amongst them was Vukashin, who proclaimed himself king of Macedonia. He wished to continue Dushan's policy and to expel the Turks from Europe, but in the battle of Taenarus, on the 26th of September 1371, his army was destroyed by the Turks, and he was slain. This was the first great blow which shook the fragile structure of the Serb empire to its foundation. Two months later (December 1371) Tsar Urosh died, and with his death ended the rule of the Nemanyich dynasty.

The Turkish Invasion: Kossovo.—After a few years of indecision and anarchy the Sabor met at Ipek in 1374 and elected Knez (Count) Lazar Hrebelyanovich, a kinsman of Urosh, as ruler of the Serbs. Lazar accepted the position and its responsibilities, but never would assume the title of tsar, although the people commonly called him "Tsar Lazar." He tried to stop the further disruption of the Serb empire and worked to organize a Christian league against the Turks. When this was reported to the Turks, they at once decided to prevent the formation of such a league by attacking its prospective members one by one. This was the real cause of the Turkish attacks on Bulgaria and Servia in 1389, which resulted in the complete subjugation of Bulgaria and in the defeat of the Serb army in the battle of Kossovo (15th of June 1389). No historic event has made such a deep impression on the mind of the Serbs as the battle of Kossovo—probably because the flower of the Serb aristocracy fell in that battle, and because both the tsar of the Serbs, Lazar, and the sultan of the Turks, Murad I., lost their lives. The sultan was killed by the Serb knight or voyvode Milosh Obilich (otherwise Kobilovich). There exists a cycle of national songs—sung to this day by the Serb bards (*guslari*)—concerning the battle of Kossovo, the treachery of Vuk Brankovich and the glorious heroism of Milosh Obilich.

The Despotate.—After the battle of Kossovo Servia existed for some seventy years (1389–1459) as a country tributary to the sultans but governing itself under its own rulers, who assumed the Greek title of "despot." The first despot after Kossovo was Tsar Lazar's eldest son "Stephen the Tall," who was an intimate friend of Sigismund IV., king of Hungary and emperor of the Germans. Being childless, Stephen on his death-bed in 1427 appointed his nephew, George Brankovich, to be his successor. As despot, George worked to establish an alliance between Servia, Bosnia and Hungary. But before such an alliance could practically be arranged, Murad II. attacked Servia in 1437 and forced George to seek refuge in Hungary, where he continued to work for a Serbo-Hungarian alliance against the Turks. Having at his disposal a large fortune he succeeded in organizing a Serbo-Hungarian expedition against the Turks in 1444. This expedition, under the joint command of the Despot George and of Hunyádi János, defeated the Turks in a great battle at Kunovitsa. The sultan was forced to conclude peace, restoring to George all the countries previously taken from him. For the remainder of his life George was rather estranged from his former allies the Hungarians. At the age of ninety he was wounded in a duel by a Hungarian nobleman, Michael Szilagyi, and died of his wound on the 24th of December 1457. His youngest son Lazar succeeded him, but only for a few months. Lazar's widow Helena Palaeologina gave Servia to the pope, hoping thereby to secure the assistance of Roman Catholic Europe against the Turks. But no one in Europe moved a finger to help Servia, and Sultan Mahommed II. occupied the country in 1459, making it a pashalik under the direct government of the Porte.

For fully 345 years Servia remained a Turkish pashalik, enduring all the miseries which that lawless régime implied. But the more or less successful invasions of the Turkish empire in Europe by the Austrian armies in the course of the 18th century—invasions in which thousands of Serbs always participated as volunteers—prepared the way for a new state of things.

CHAPTER V

SERVIAN INDEPENDENCE

The disorganization and anarchy in the Turkish empire at the beginning of the 19th century gave the Serbs their opportunity, and the people rose *en masse* against its oppressors (January 1804). A national assembly met in February 1804 in the village of Orashats, and elected George Petrovich—more generally known under the name of "Tsrni Gyorgye" or "Karageorge"—both meaning "Black George"—as commander-in-chief of all the nation's armed forces and the leader of the nation (*Vozhd naroda*). Under his command the Serbs quickly succeeded in breaking the power of the Dahias, as the four chieftains of the Janissaries of Belgrade were called, who, having rebelled against the sultan, took possession of Servia, became its political and military masters, and exploited the country as their own private property. The Serbs cleared their country altogether of the Turks, and began to organize it as a modern European state. In 1807 the sultan offered to grant the Serbs self-government, and to acknowledge Karageorge as the chief of the nation with the title of prince. On the advice of the Russians, who were just going to war with Turkey, the Serbs refused that offer, preferring to fight against the Turks as Russian allies. The principal scene of the Russo-Turkish war being transferred to the Lower Danube, only a few unimportant actions took place on Servian territory. From 1804 till the autumn of 1813 the Serbs governed themselves as an independent nation. But when in 1812 Russia, attacked by Napoleon, had in great haste to conclude at Bucharest a treaty of peace with Turkey, and omitted to make sufficient provision for the security of her allies the Serbs, the Turkish army invaded and reconquered Servia, occupying all its fortresses. Karageorge, with most of the leading men, left the country (September 1813), and found a refuge first in Austria and then in Russia. Of those who remained in Servia the natural leader, by his own position, talents and influence, was Milosh Obrenovich, voyvode of Rudnik. He surrendered to the Turks and was appointed by them the ruler of central Servia. Not quite two years later Milosh began the second insurrection of the Serbs against the Turks (on Palm Sunday 1815, near the little wooden church of Takovo). He was successful not only in the field but in his diplomacy, and by 1817 Servia had regained autonomy under the suzerainty of the sultan. That autonomy was placed on an international basis by the treaty of Adrianople, concluded between Turkey and Russia in 1829. In compliance with that treaty the sultan by the Hatti-Sherif of 1830 formally granted full autonomy to the Serbs, retaining at the same time Turkish garrisons in the Servian fortresses.

Servia an Autonomous State: 1830–1879.—Milosh, declared hereditary prince of Servia, worked hard for the internal organization and for the economic and educational progress of his country. But his attempts to make Servia independent of Russian protection brought him into conflict with Russia, and his autocratic methods of government united against him all who wished for a constitution. The result was that Prince Milosh was forced to abdicate and leave the country in 1839. Three days before his abdication he was induced to sign a constitution (that of 1838) imposed on Servia by the Porte, at the instance of Russia, with the object of undermining his position. This constitution delegated part of the prince's authority to a council of 70 members appointed for life. Prince Milosh's elder son, Prince Milan (Obrenovich II.), died in a few months, and the younger son Michael (Obrenovich III.) ascended the throne. But the politicians who forced Milosh to abdicate did not feel safe with

Milosh's second son as the reigning prince of Servia. They started a military revolt, drove Michael also into exile (1842), and elected Alexander Karageorgevich, the younger son of Karageorge, as prince of Servia. His reign (1842–1858) was quiet and prosperous, and the country made remarkable progress in culture and wealth. But he feared to summon the national assembly, was personally weak and vacillating, and in foreign politics was Turcophil and Austrophil rather than Russophil. Not only Russia but Servia also was dissatisfied with such a policy, and when Alexander Karageorgevich, forced by public opinion, at last dared convoke a national assembly, that assembly's first resolution was that Prince Alexander should be dethroned and replaced by the old Prince Milosh Obrenovich I. This change of the reigning dynasty was effected without the slightest disorder or loss of life. Milosh returned to power at the beginning of 1859, but died in 1860. His son Michael then ascended the throne for the second time. He was a man of refinement who had learned much during his long exile (1842–1859). His political programme was that the law should be respected as the supreme will in the country, that Servia's political autonomy should be jealously guarded, and every encroachment on the part of the suzerain power should be resented and rebuffed. He introduced many important reforms in administration, and replaced the old constitution, granted to Servia by the Porte in 1830, by a new constitution which he himself gave to the country. When in 1862 the Turkish garrison in the citadel of Belgrade bombarded the town, he demanded the evacuation of all the Servian fortresses and forts by the Turks. Only a few of the less important forts were delivered to the Serbs at that time; but in 1863 Prince Michael sent his wife, the beautiful and accomplished Princess Julia (*née* Countess Hunyadi), to plead the cause of Servia in London, and she succeeded in interesting prominent English politicians (Cobden, Bright, Gladstone) in the fate of the Balkan countries. Prince Michael organized the national army, armed it and drilled it, and entered into understandings with Greece, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria and Albania, for an eventual general rising against the Turks. In the beginning of 1867 he addressed to the Porte a formal demand that the Turkish garrisons should be withdrawn from Belgrade and other Serb fortresses. To prevent a general conflagration in the Balkan Peninsula, the powers advised the sultan to comply with the demand, and when the British government strongly supported that advice the sultan yielded and delivered all the fortresses on Servian territory to the keeping of the prince of Servia (March 1867). Prince Michael's great popularity in consequence of his diplomatic successes alarmed the friends of the exiled Karageorgevich dynasty, more especially when rumours began to circulate that the prince contemplated divorcing his childless wife Julia and remarrying. A conspiracy was formed, and Prince Michael was assassinated on the 10th of June 1868. The conspirators failed to overthrow the government, and the army proclaimed Milan, the son of Prince Michael's first cousin Milosh Obrenovich (son of Yephrem, brother to Milosh the founder of the dynasty), as prince of Servia. The choice was unanimously approved by the Velika Skupshtina, which had been immediately convoked. As Milan Obrenovich IV. was a boy of only thirteen, a regency, presided over by Jovan Ristich or Ristitch, was appointed to manage the government until the boy prince attained his full age, which took place in 1872. In 1869 the regency had substituted a new constitution for that of 1838. Prince Milan followed the policy of his dynasty, and, encouraged by the Russian Panslavists, declared war on Turkey (June 1876). His army, commanded by the Russian General Chernyayev, was defeated by Abdul-Kerim Pasha, whose advance was stopped by the intervention of Tsar Alexander II. But the situation created by Prince Milan's action in the Balkans forced the hand of the tsar, and Russia declared war on Turkey (1877).

The Treaty of Berlin.—Prince Milan was educated in the political school favourable to Russia, and unhesitatingly followed the Russian lead up to the conclusion of the preliminary treaty of peace between Russia and Turkey at San Stefano. By that treaty Russia, desiring to create a great Bulgaria, took within its limits districts inhabited by Servians, and considered by the Servian politicians and patriots as the natural and legitimate inheritance of their nation. This act of Russia created great dissatisfaction in Servia, and became the starting-point for a new departure in Servian politics. At the Berlin Congress the Servian plenipotentiary, Jovan Ristich, in vain appealed to the Russian representatives to assist Servia to obtain better terms. The Russians themselves advised him to appeal to Austria and to try to obtain her support. The utter neglect of the Servian interests by Russia at San Stefano, and her evident inability at the Berlin Congress to do anything for Servia, determined Prince Milan to change the traditional policy of his country, and instead of continuing to seek support from Russia, he tried to come to an understanding with Austria-Hungary concerning the conditions under which that power would give its support to Servian interests. This new departure was considered by the Russians—especially by those of the Panslavist party—almost as an apostasy, and it was decided to oppose Prince Milan and his supporters, the Servian Progressives. The treaty of Berlin (13th of July 1878) disappointed Servian patriots, although the complete independence of the country was established by it (art. 34). This was proclaimed at Belgrade by Prince (afterwards King) Milan on the 22nd of August.

The Progressive Régime.—The political history of Servia from 1879 to the abdication

of King Milan on 3rd March 1889 was an uninterrupted struggle between King Milan and the Progressives on one side, and Russia with her adherents, the Servian Radicals, on the other. King Milan and his government were badly handicapped by several unfortunate circumstances. To fulfil the engagements accepted in Berlin and the conditions under which independence had been granted to Servia, railways had to be constructed within a certain time, and the government had also to pay to the Turkish landlords in the newly acquired districts an equitable indemnity for their estates, which were divided among the peasants. These objects could not be attained without borrowing a considerable amount of money in European markets. To pay regularly the interest on the loans the government of King Milan had to undertake the unpopular task of reforming the entire financial system of the country and of increasing the taxation. The expenditure increased more rapidly than the revenue. Deficits appeared, which had to be covered temporarily by new loans, and which forced the government to establish monopolies on salt, tobacco, matches, mineral oils, &c. Every such step increased the unpopularity of the government and strengthened the opposition. An attempt on the life of King Milan was made in 1882, and an insurrection in the south-eastern districts was started in 1883. But the majority of the people, and especially the regular army, remained loyal, and the revolt was quickly suppressed.

War with Bulgaria.—The union of Bulgaria and Eastern Rumelia inspired King Milan and his government with the notion that either that union must be prevented or that Servia should obtain some territorial compensation, so that the balance of power in the Balkan Peninsula might be maintained. This view, which did not find support anywhere outside Servia, led to war between Servia and Bulgaria; the Servians were defeated at Slivnitza and had to abandon Pirot, whilst the farther advance of the Bulgarian army on Nish was stopped by the intervention of Austria-Hungary. An honourable peace was concluded between the two contending powers in March 1886. Then came the unhappy events connected with Milan's divorce from Queen Natalie. That domestic misfortune was cleverly exploited by King Milan's enemies in the country and abroad, and did him more harm than all his political mistakes. He tried to retrieve his position in the country, and succeeded in a great measure, by granting a very liberal constitution (January 1889, or December 1888 O.S.) at a time when all agitation for a new constitution had been given up. Then, to the great astonishment of the Servians and of his Russian enemies, King Milan voluntarily abdicated, placing the government of the country in the hands of a regency during the minority of his only son Alexander, whom he proclaimed king of Servia on the 6th of March 1889.

King Alexander: The Regency.—The leading man of the regency was Jovan Ristich who had already been regent during the minority of King Milan (1868–1871). Although he had been since 1868 the leader of the Liberal party, he showed himself, as regent, extremely Conservative. The new constitution was the embodiment of Radical principles, and the numerically strongest party in the country was Radical. The national assembly was composed, therefore, almost exclusively of Radicals, and the government was Radical likewise. From the very beginning the Conservative regency and the Radical government distrusted each other. The government was not strong enough to resist the clamour of their numerous partisans for participation in the spoils of party warfare. Political passions, which had been stirred up by the long struggle against King Milan's Progressive régime, could not be allayed so quickly; and as the anarchical element of the Radical party obtained the ascendancy over the more cultured and more moderate members, all sorts of political excesses were committed. The old system of borrowing money to cover the yearly deficits was continued, and the expenditure went on increasing from year to year. The administration lost all authority, the police were paralysed and brigandage became rife. The Radical government thought to strengthen their position by letting the national assembly vote a law prohibiting the return of the king's father to Servia, and forcibly expelling the king's mother, Queen Natalie. But such laws and such acts only embittered political passions and greatly encouraged the adherents of Prince Peter Karageorgevich, who, having married the eldest daughter of Prince Nicholas of Montenegro and living at Cettigne, was supposed to enjoy the support of Russia. The political situation became still more confused when on the death of the third regent, General Kosta Protich, the government tried to force the regency to accept in his stead M. Pashich, the leader of the Radical party. The regents thereupon dismissed the Radical cabinet and called the Liberals to the government (August 1892). The Liberal cabinet dissolved the Radical national assembly, and at the general elections used very great pressure to secure a Liberal majority. In this they did not succeed, and the situation became hopelessly entangled by the fact that the national assembly was Radical, the government Liberal, and the regency practically in all its tendencies Conservative. The legislative machinery as well as the administration of the country was thus completely paralysed. Then the young king Alexander suddenly proclaimed himself of age (although at that time only in his seventeenth year), dismissed the regents and the Liberal cabinet, and formed his first cabinet from among the moderate Radicals (13th April 1893).

The King's Administration.—The moderate Radicals quickly showed themselves unable to do any serious work. They were fettered by the dissatisfaction of the Left wing of their own party. To satisfy the extreme Radicals they had to impeach the members of

the last cabinet. This increased the bitterness of the Liberals, who, though not so numerous as the Radicals, included in their ranks more men of wealth and culture. Political passions were again in full blaze. The anti-dynastic party raised its head again, and in many Radical publications the expulsion of the reigning dynasty and its replacement by the Karageorgevich were advocated. At the same time reports were reaching King Alexander that Russia was discussing with the leaders of the extreme Radicals the conditions under which a Russian grand-duke was to be proclaimed king of Servia.

The ex-King Milan's Return.—In such circumstances King Alexander thought best to invite his father the ex-King Milan (who was living in Paris) to his side, and to use his great knowledge of men and his political experience. In the beginning of January 1894 King Milan arrived in Belgrade. The Radical cabinet resigned and was replaced by a cabinet composed of politicians standing outside the political parties. In June the Radical constitution of 1889 was suspended, and in its place the constitution of 1869 was re-established.

The nation was evidently tired of the violent agitations of recent years. This feeling gave rise to Conservative, even somewhat reactionary, legislation. The duration of the legislature was extended from three to five years ; the liberty of the press was curtailed by the enactment that proprietors of political papers must pay to the government a deposit of 5000 dinars (£200), and that the editors must have completed their studies at a university ; the laws on *lèse-majesté* were made more severe. After the advent to power of Dr Vladan Georgevich (October 1897) persistent and successful efforts were made to improve the country's financial and economic condition. The violent party strife which from 1880 to 1895 had absorbed the best energies of the country and paralysed every serious and productive work, ceased almost completely, and the nation as a whole turned to improve its agriculture and commerce. The sustained improvement in the political and commercial situation was not influenced materially by the temporary excitement in consequence of the attempt on the life of King Milan (6th July 1899), and of the state trial of several prominent Radicals accused of having conspired for the overthrow of the dynasty. One remarkable feature in the foreign policy of Servia in the last years of the 19th century was that after King Milan was appointed commander-in-chief of the Servian regular army (1898), Russia and Montenegro practically, although not formally, broke off their diplomatic relations with Servia, while at the same time the relations of that country with Austria-Hungary became more friendly than under the Radical régime.

King Alexander's Marriage.—All this was changed suddenly when in July 1900 King Alexander married Mme. Draga Mashin, once lady-in-waiting to his mother Queen Natalie. He threw himself into the arms of Russia, forbade his father Milan to reside in Servia, and followed Russian guidance in all questions of foreign policy. To strengthen his position in the country he promulgated a new constitution in April 1901, establishing for the first time in the history of Servia a parliament with two houses (skupshtina and senate). But the unpopularity of the king's marriage was not lessened. Constitutional liberties and especially the free press were mercilessly used to attack both the king and the queen, who neither wished nor were able to conceal their dissatisfaction. A general feeling that King Alexander contemplated changing the situation by one of his bold and clever *coups d'état* increased the political unrest. Matters went from bad to worse when persistent rumours were set in motion that Queen Draga had succeeded in persuading King Alexander to proclaim one of her two brothers heir-apparent to the throne. In 1902 a widespread military conspiracy was rumoured to exist, while Austria and Russia repeatedly gave proofs that they were indifferent to the fate of Alexander, and so encouraged the malcontents. King Alexander felt that he could eventually fortify his position either by a great foreign policy or by his divorce from the childless Queen Draga. He seems to have been working for joint action with Bulgaria for the liberation of Macedonia from Turkish rule. Some of his intimate friends asserted that he contemplated divorcing the queen, and that he was only waiting for her departure for an Austrian watering-place, which departure was fixed for the 15th of June 1903. In the first hours of the 11th of June the conspirators surrounded the palace with troops, forced an entrance and assassinated both King Alexander and Queen Draga in a most cruel and savage manner.

King Peter Karageorgevich.—The regicides proclaimed Prince Peter Karageorgevich king of Servia ; and a provisional cabinet was formed, with Colonel Mashin, brother-in-law of the murdered Queen Draga and organizer of the conspiracy, as minister of public works. The skupshtina and senate assembled, restored the constitution of 1889 instead of the reactionary constitution promulgated by King Alexander on the 19th of April 1901, and ratified the election of Prince Peter, who entered Belgrade as king on the 24th of June 1903. Born in 1844, he was the son of Alexander Karageorgevich and grandson of Karageorge ; in 1883 he had married Princess Zorka, daughter of Prince (afterwards King) Nicholas of Montenegro. His authority was at first merely nominal ; the highest administrative offices were occupied by the regicides, who received the unanimous thanks of the skupshtina for the assassination of King Alexander and Queen Draga. Russia, Austria-Hungary and Montenegro were the only Powers which congratulated King Peter on his accession, and in December 1903 all the Powers temporarily withdrew their representatives from Belgrade,

as a protest against the attitude of the Servian government towards the regicides. But at the coronation of King Peter, in September 1904, all the European powers except Great Britain were officially represented, some concessions, more apparent than real, having been made in the matter of the regicides, who were very unpopular among the peasants and in the army. Further protests were made by many of the Powers when the illusory nature of these concessions became known, and it was not until May 1906 that diplomatic relations with Servia were resumed by Great Britain. In the same year a convention was concluded by Servia and Bulgaria as a preliminary to a customs union between the two states. This convention, which tended to neutralize the dependence of Servia upon Austria-Hungary by facilitating the export of Servian goods through the Bulgarian ports on the Black Sea, brought about a war of tariffs between Servia and the Dual Monarchy.

The Bosnian Crisis.—In 1908 the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary and the revolution in Turkey brought about an acute crisis. Many Serbs still hoped for the realization of the so-called "Great Servian Idea," *i.e.* the union in a single empire of Servia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro and Old Servia (*Stara Srbiya*) or the sanjak of Novibazar with north-western Macedonia—all countries in which the population consists largely, and in some cases almost exclusively, of Orthodox Serbs. The whole nation clamoured for war with Austria-Hungary, and was supported in this attitude by Montenegro, despite a temporary rupture of diplomatic relations between Belgrade and Cettigne, due to the alleged complicity of the Servian crown prince in a plot for the assassination of Prince Nicholas. As, however, the armaments and finances of Servia were unequal to a conflict with Austria-Hungary, while Great Britain, Russia, France and Italy counselled peace, the skupshtina, meeting in secret session on the 11th of October 1908, determined to avoid open hostilities, and sent M. Milanovich, the minister for foreign affairs, to press the claims of Servia upon the Powers. The tariff war with Austria-Hungary was at the same time renewed. Servia demanded compensation in various forms for the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina; what the government hoped to obtain was the cession to Servia of a strip of territory between Herzegovina and Novibazar, which would check the advance of Austria-Hungary towards Salonica, make Servia and Montenegro conterminous, pave the way for a union between them, and give Servian commerce an outlet to the Adriatic. Neither the Dual Monarchy nor the Young Turks would consider the cession of any territory, and in January 1909 the outcry for war was renewed in Servia. But the threatening attitude of Austria-Hungary, with the moderating influence of M. Pashich, who became the real, though not the nominal, head of a new ministry in February 1909, induced Servia to accept the advice of the Russian government by abandoning all claim to territorial "compensation," and leaving the Balkan question for solution by the Powers. The Servian government defined its attitude in a circular note to the Powers (9th of March), and finally accepted the terms of a conciliatory declaration suggested by the British government (31st of March). By this declaration Servia abandoned all its demands as against Austria-Hungary, while the Austro-Hungarian foreign minister made simultaneously a public declaration that the Dual Monarchy harboured no unfriendly designs against Servia.

On the 27th of March 1909 the crown prince George (b. 1887), who had been the most outspoken leader of the anti-Austrian party in 1908, was induced to resign his right of succession to the throne. It was alleged that his violence had caused the death of one of his own male servants, and that he was partially insane. On the 27th of March 1909 his brother Alexander (b. Dec. 17, 1888) took the oath as heir-apparent.[1]

[1] For later events see Appendices, pp. 177-186.

APPENDIX I

THE BALKAN STATES, 1909–12

1909.—The agitation in Servia caused by the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary in 1908 had led the country to the brink of war with its powerful neighbour. The only chance of a Servian success in such a conflict lay in the hoped-for support of Russia, but when that Power, acting under pressure from Germany, declared that she no longer insisted on the provisions of Article XXV. of the Berlin Treaty which regulated the Austrian tenure of the two provinces, the Servian cabinet, in which MM. Milovanovich, Pashich and Ribaratz were the principal figures, recognized the uselessness of further resistance, and on 31st March 1909 Servia addressed to Austria-Hungary a declaration, the text of which had been drawn up by the British Government, to the effect that she would conform to the decisions of the Powers relative to Article XXV. of the Berlin Treaty and abandon the attitude of protest and opposition she had hitherto maintained towards Austria-Hungary, reducing her army to its peace effective and disarming her bands of volunteers. At the same time the representatives of the Powers at Belgrade gave assurances to the Servian Government that Austria-Hungary meditated no attack upon the independence or territorial integrity of Servia. On 1st April the Austrian reply expressing satisfaction at the resumption of friendly relations was delivered at Belgrade. By a strange coincidence, a provisional commercial arrangement between the two countries expired that very day, and the political struggle was replaced by a war of tariffs.

Europe had scarcely been delivered from the Servian nightmare when the outbreak of a reactionary movement at Constantinople (April 13) once more produced excursions and alarums in the Balkan Peninsula. After the successful march of Mahmoud Shefket with the army of Salonika on Constantinople the Young Turk faction, which had been driven from power, re-established its authority, and the Sultan Abdul Hamid II. was deposed (April 27, 1909). Notwithstanding their profession of Liberal principles, the triumph of the Young Turks was productive of little or no improvement in the condition of the subject races of the Ottoman Empire. An increase of militarism in the administration followed, and the doctrine of "Ottomanism," which was explained to the outer world as implying the perfect equality of all Ottoman subjects, was interpreted at home as justifying the abrogation of the ancient rights of the non-Turkish nationalities. The privileges of the Christian churches were interfered with, political clubs were suppressed, public meetings were forbidden, and every effort was made to extinguish the national sentiments of the various races. The result was the formation of secret conspiracies and the appearance of insurgent bands in Macedonia, which were aided and in part recruited by sympathizers in Bulgaria, Servia and Greece, while Albania broke into open revolt. The various nationalities, which the artful policy of Abdul Hamid had maintained in a state of mutual hostility, began to discover that their only hope of preserving their rights, and indeed their existence, lay in combination against the common foe. The reconciliation began among the Greek and Bulgarian peasants; in course of time better relations began to prevail between the clergy and upper classes on both sides, which had hitherto been implacably hostile, and ultimately the governments of Athens and Sofia entered into friendly discussions. A close understanding resulted, and the foundations of the future Balkan alliance were laid.

The crisis which arose over the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary came to an end in April 1909 with the recognition of the annexation by the Powers. At the same time Montenegro, which had formed an alliance with Servia during the period of tension, succeeded, through the good offices of Italy, in obtaining from Austria-Hungary and the Powers the abrogation of various restrictions imposed on her tenure of the port of Antivari by Article XXIX. of the Berlin Treaty. It was arranged that Antivari should retain the character of a commercial port, but the administration of the maritime police on the Montenegrin coast by Austria-Hungary, the closure of Antivari to ships of war of all nations, and other irksome provisions of the treaty, were abandoned.

The decision of the four Protecting Powers of Crete to withdraw their troops from the island led to considerable excitement in Greece as the date fixed for the evacuation (July 27, 1909) approached. It was generally believed at Athens that the union of the island with Greece would follow immediately upon the departure of the troops, but the Young Turks, now secure of power, assumed a threatening attitude, and Mahmoud Shefket Pasha addressed menacing language to the Greek Patriarch. The indignation in Greece was intense,

especially in the army, and a secret society, known as the Military League, was formed among the officers. After the embarkation of the international contingents, the Cretans hoisted the Greek flag on the forts of Canea and Candia. The Cretan Government, declaring itself unable to enforce the removal of the flags in compliance with the injunctions of the Powers, resigned, and was succeeded by an executive committee, which at once took an oath of allegiance to King George. The Greek flag at Canea was cut down by a detachment from the international fleet (Aug. 18), while that at Candia was removed with some difficulty by the local authorities on the following day. Meanwhile the Porte in two Notes (Aug. 8, Aug. 13), demanded from Greece categorical declarations with regard to her intentions both as regards Crete and Macedonia, and received replies which were stated to be satisfactory. The Powers had already (July 13) addressed a memorandum to Turkey declaring their resolve to maintain her " supreme rights " in Crete ; they now, at the suggestion of Great Britain, interpreted these words as implying the sovereignty of Turkey, although on 17th March 1897 they had " irrevocably decided " to recognize her " suzerainty " only.

The disappointment felt in Greece at the postponement of the union, the humiliation inflicted by Turkey and the tergiversation of the Powers combined to bring about a crisis. On the night of 27th August 1909, a number of officers belonging to the Military League marched out of Athens with some 2000 men and occupied a hill in the suburbs. Their demands included a series of radical reforms in the army and navy, the exclusion of the Crown Prince and his brothers from military commands, and a number of other changes. M. Ralli, the prime minister, who had succeeded M. Theotokis on 20th July, resigned and was replaced by M. Mavromichalis. The new government undertook to carry out the greater part of the programme of the League ; its leader, Colonel Zorbas, was appointed to the command of the troops at Athens, and the royal princes withdrew from the army. The movement was not antidynastic, but aimed at putting an end to the prolonged maladministration which had involved the country in so many misfortunes. In effect Colonel Zorbas and his confederates became for the time the real rulers of the country, and on their initiative a large number of legislative measures were submitted by the government to the Chamber, which passed them with mechanical docility. Some of the new laws met the real requirements of the country, but others betrayed the crude statesmanship of the soldier politicians who devised them. Eventually, however, the popularity of the League declined, dissensions broke out among its members, and a naval mutiny at Salamis (Oct. 29) indicated a rift in the harmony between the army and navy. The Mavromichalis ministry, which the officers tolerated so long as it carried out their orders, began to display a spirit of independence, and certain features of the new legislation met with opposition. A demand for the immediate settlement of the Cretan Question addressed by the Porte to the Protecting Powers (Nov. 10) suggested the fear that Turkey would endeavour to profit by the distracted condition of Greece.

After the settlement of the various questions arising from the Bulgarian declaration of independence in 1908 the relations between Turkey and Bulgaria had become normal. On 23rd July 1909 a number of Bulgarian officers attended the celebration of the first anniversary of the restoration of the Turkish Constitution at Constantinople, and during the autumn several Macedonian revolutionaries were expelled from Bulgaria. The efforts of the Young Turks, however, to infringe the privileges of the Christian nationalities in Macedonia caused some uneasiness, and the severities practised by Djavad Pasha during the autumn in putting down a revolt in northern Albania seemed to indicate that the new *regime* in Turkey had not abandoned traditional methods of repression. On 25th November King Ferdinand paid a short visit to King Peter at Belgrade.

1910.—The beginning of the year 1910 found Greece in a state of confusion bordering on chaos. The relations of the Military League with the Mavromichalis government became daily more strained, and at the end of January M. Mavromichalis resigned, being replaced in the premiership by M. Stephen Dragoumis, who took Colonel Zorbas into his cabinet as Minister of War. Conscious of its waning popularity and unable to deal with the perplexities of the situation, the League had already sought the advice of M. Venizelos, the eminent Cretan politician, who had arrived at Athens on 10th January. He at once devised a programme which enabled the League to make a triumphant exit from the political arena. He suggested the convocation of a National Assembly to sanction the changes which the military reformers and, indeed, the bulk of the nation desired, and in the space of a few weeks succeeded in inducing not only the officers but the opposition leaders and eventually the king to accept his proposal. The retirement of the Mavromichalis ministry became inevitable. Having practically arranged the affairs of Greece in accordance with his ideas, M. Venizelos returned to Crete on 28th February.

The new Greek ministry under M. Dragoumis, who was highly respected by all parties, adopted the programme of M. Venizelos, and worked in comparative harmony with the League, the inclusion of Colonel Zorbas in the cabinet tending to moderate the violence of the military *junta*. King George, who had always played the part of a constitutional sovereign, was opposed to the convocation of an Assembly, on the ground that under the Constitution such a body could only be called into existence by the vote of two successive Chambers. The holding of fresh elections, however, involved the prospect of a rupture with

Turkey owing to the resolve of the Cretans to send deputies to the new Chamber, whose admission, the Porte had declared, would constitute a *casus belli*. In view of this danger, and having received assurances that the League would dissolve, the king personally announced to the Chamber (March 30) his decision to summon a revisionary assembly as provided for by clause 107 of the constitution. The League simultaneously issued a manifesto declaring that the interference of the army in political affairs had ceased. Thus came to an end the military *pronunciamento*, which had been prolonged for a period of six months. If the methods of the officers were crude their intentions were excellent, and the general results of the movement were beneficial for Greece.

In Thessaly, where a system of land tenure based on Turkish feudal institutions had not yet disappeared, a serious agitation broke out among the peasant cultivators in March 1910; the troops were called out and bloodshed took place at Larissa and Karditza. After the annexation of the province to Greece in 1881 many of the Turkish proprietors, who as a rule were easy-going and indulgent to their serfs, had parted with their estates, which the new landlords, for the most part wealthy speculators, endeavoured to administer on business principles. After the outbreak of the military revolution at Athens the cause of the Thessalian peasants was taken up by political agitators, who, with the support of the League, introduced a measure into the Greek Chamber for the compulsory expropriation of the landlords. This led to the despatch of a sharply worded Turkish Note reminding the Greek Government that the rights of the Moslem proprietors were safe-guarded by the Convention of Constantinople of 2nd July 1881. The proposed measure was resisted by M. Dragoumis, and satisfactory assurances were tendered to Turkey.

The relations between Bulgaria and Turkey had once more become strained owing to the severities practised by the Young Turks in Macedonia, and on 2nd January 1910, a great meeting of protest was held at Sofia. On 6th January Dr Daneff, ex-prime minister, was sent to Constantinople with the object of bringing about an understanding, and his mission resulted in a temporary mitigation of the repressive measures carried out by the Turkish authorities. On 21st March King Ferdinand and Queen Eleonore, who had already paid a visit to Petrograd (Feb. 23), arrived at Constantinople accompanied by the Prime Minister and two other members of the Cabinet, and were cordially welcomed by the Sultan, who gave a banquet in their honour. The Greeks of Constantinople, however, showed ill humour at the visit, and its political effects were marred by the refusal of the Turkish Government to allow the king and queen to return to Sofia via Mount Athos and Salonika. On 12th June Prince Yusuf Izz-ed-din, the Turkish heir-apparent, who had previously visited Belgrade, arrived at Sofia, where he spent some days. Some conferences took place between Rifaat Pasha, who accompanied the prince, and Bulgarian statesmen, but no political results of any importance were attained.

The friendly relations existing between Servia and Turkey were strengthened by the visit of King Peter to Constantinople (April 3), a few days after the departure of King Ferdinand. The Servian sovereign was received with great honours and met with an effusive welcome from the Greek clergy and population. He was permitted to visit Mount Athos and to return to Servia through Macedonia. The policy of the Young Turks at this period was to play off the Servians against the Bulgarians in Macedonia and against the Albanians of Kossovo, who had risen in revolt against the imposition of an octroi tax and other vexatious measures of the Turkish authorities. Servia was bound to keep on good terms with Turkey, which dominated her only commercial outlet at Salonika, her Austrian frontier being closed by a tariff war. Hopes, which proved illusory, were held out to Servia that she would be allowed to construct a railway to San Giovanni di Medua on the Adriatic.

On the opening of the Cretan Assembly (May 9, 1910) all the Christian deputies took an oath of allegiance to King George of Greece. A protest was handed in by Naim Bey, a Moslem deputy, but he was assaulted by one of his Christian colleagues while another tore up the document. In reply to the remonstrances of the Porte against these proceedings the Protecting Powers declared that nothing had occurred to change the *status quo*. The Assembly, however, proceeded to vote the exclusion of the Moslem deputies, while steps were taken throughout the island to hinder Moslem officials from exercising their duties. Eventually, after an ultimatum from the Powers, which threatened to land troops and seize the customs, the Assembly revoked its decision (July 9) and interference with the Moslem functionaries was abandoned. The proceedings of the Cretan Christians and the sympathy expressed for them in Greece entailed much suffering on the Greeks in Turkey. The " boycott " of Greek commerce, initiated by the Committee of Union and Progress in the previous year, was now enforced with extreme rigour. All dealing with Greeks was prohibited, Greek steamers were prevented from taking up or landing passengers or goods, Greek shops were in many places forcibly closed and Greek workmen were forbidden to pursue their avocations. The movement was ostensibly under the direction of Kerim Aga, a quay-porter at Salonika. The embassies at Constantinople protested, but were informed that the Government was powerless. The rejection by the Porte of a demand for compensation to Greek subjects in Turkey led to withdrawal of the Greek minister from Constantinople, but diplomatic relations were not suspended.

At the end of August 1910 the fiftieth anniversary of the accession of Prince Nicholas

of Montenegro was celebrated at Cettigne with great rejoicings in presence of the king and queen of Italy, King Ferdinand, and Prince Boris of Bulgaria, the Crown Princess of Greece and Servia, and other distinguished personages. On the morning of the 28th, in response to an address from the Skupshtina, Prince Nicholas assumed the royal dignity, and accompanied by his illustrious guests attended a *Te Deum* in the historic monastery of Cettigne. The golden wedding of the king and queen was celebrated next day in the little Vlaska church in which their marriage took place. The festivities continued for three days amid great enthusiasm. The new kingdom was immediately recognized by the Powers.

Elections were held in Greece in August 1910 for the Revisionary Assembly, at which M. Venizelos and other Cretan candidates were returned; the latter resigned their mandates at the instance of the Powers, to which Turkey had addressed a protest; but the election of M. Venizelos, who was technically a Greek subject, having received the freedom of Athens, was allowed to stand. The Assembly was opened by King George on 14th September, and four days later M. Venizelos arrived from Crete. He firmly resisted a proposal that the Assembly should assume constituent powers, and that body at his suggestion formally invalidated the election of the Cretan deputies. On 13th October M. Dragoumis resigned, and M. Venizelos became prime minister.[1] The leaders of the old political parties at once combined against him, with the result that King George dissolved the Assembly (Oct. 25). The political leaders responded by proclaiming the abstention of their followers from the ensuing elections, which took place in December and resulted in an overwhelming majority for M. Venizelos, who was now in a position to carry out his programme of reform.

During the summer and autumn of 1910 the Young Turk government proceeded to carry out its programme of disarmament in Macedonia. The measure was practically enforced against the Christian population only, the Moslems, with the exception of the Albanians, being allowed to retain their arms. The disarmament was carried out *manu militari* by Shefket Torgut Pasha and his troops after the suppression of an Albanian insurrection in the spring. The villages were blockaded by the troops during the search for arms, and some 10,000 peasants were beaten or otherwise maltreated. At the same time armed Bosnian colonists were settled in many districts hitherto inhabited by Christians. These proceedings, with regard to which complete reticence was maintained by foreign governments and the greater part of the European press, produced great indignation in Bulgaria, where large numbers of refugees congregated, as well as in Servia and Greece, and gave an impulse to the movement for joint action on the part of those states against Turkey. In the autumn Rumania, apparently prompted by Germany, declared to Turkey that in the event of hostilities between Turkey and Bulgaria Rumania would mobilize all her forces on her Bulgarian frontier.

1911.—On 11th January 1911, the Liberal Cabinet of M. Bratiano resigned in Rumania, and was replaced by a Conservative ministry under M. Carp. The new Rumanian prime minister possessed only a small following in the Chamber, a large number of the Conservatives having broken away some years previously under the leadership of M. Take Jonesco. A dissolution followed and elections were held in February, at which, owing to strong official pressure, a large ministerial majority was obtained. M. Carp, while maintaining friendly relations with Turkey, did not consider himself bound by the declaration of his predecessor.

On 3rd January 1911, the Bulgarian sobranye decided to send the members of the former Stambolovist ministry, who were charged with various illegalities, before a special commission of inquiry. A speech delivered on this occasion by General Savoff, the former war minister, in which he stated that the Bulgarian army was perfectly ready for war with Turkey, attracted much attention. The prosecution was eventually dropped. Owing to the failure of protracted negotiations for a commercial treaty with Turkey, the outbreak of a tariff war seemed imminent, but a provisional arrangement for one year was eventually concluded (Feb. 3).

The Greek Revisionary Chamber elected in the previous year met at Athens on 22nd January. Among the changes sanctioned were the revival of a Council of State, reduction of the number of deputies and of the number necessary to form a quorum, permanent tenure of their appointments by judges and public officials, compulsory elementary education, exclusion of military and naval officers from the Chamber and permission to foreigners to enter the service of the state. In virtue of the last-mentioned enactment the reorganization of the army was entrusted to French, and that of the navy to British officers (April 14). The revision of the Constitution was completed on 5th June.

For several days in March Athens was thrown into a state of confusion owing to an agitation raised by some ultra-patriotic University professors, who demanded that a clause

[1] Eleutherios Venizelos was born at Cerigo in 1864, his family tracing their origin to the Florentine dukes of Athens in the middle ages and claiming a patron saint in St Philothea Venezela, who was beaten to death by the Turks in 1589 and buried in the Cathedral at Athens. His father having been expelled from Crete by the Turks, Eleutherios studied law at Athens and in Germany. Although an Hellenic subject, in May 1899 he became minister for foreign affairs in Crete after the island obtained autonomy, but resigned in September 1901 owing to differences with Prince George. In opposition, however, he played a strong part, and from 1906 onward he was the most powerful man in the island.

should be introduced into the constitution ordaining the exclusive employment of the " purified literary language " in all departments of the state and forbidding the translation of the Scriptures into the spoken tongue. Meetings of students were held, the populace became excited, and it was found necessary to occupy the streets in the neighbourhood of the chamber with troops. The government yielded to the demand, but the purists, encouraged by their success, proceeded to insist that the employment of the popular language in schools should be proscribed by the constitution, and their leader, Professor Mistriotis, issued a proclamation declaring that the immortal Greek language, the national religion and the race itself, which had civilized the whole world, were in danger, and convoking a public meeting to consider " whether the nation would consent to commit suicide." M. Venizelos thereupon took prompt action. Troops were brought up from Chalcis, the meeting was prohibited, and the professor was brought to his senses by a notification that he would be prosecuted for sedition. Tranquillity was immediately restored.

At the end of March 1911 diplomatic relations between Greece and Rumania, which had been suspended in September 1905 owing to Rumanian retaliation for outrages perpetrated by Greek bands on the Vlachs of Macedonia, were resumed through the mediation of Russia and Italy. On April 2nd M. Venizelos announced that the government had decided to settle the Thessalian land question on the principle of voluntary sale by the landlords, and his assurances were accepted as satisfactory by the Thessalian deputies.

On 22nd March the Democratic Cabinet of M. Malinoff in Bulgaria resigned and was succeeded (March 29) by a coalition ministry representing the Nationalist and Progressive parties. M. Gueshoff, the leader of the former, became prime minister, while Dr Daneff, the Progressist chief, accepted the presidency of the chamber. The new government endeavoured to initiate a policy of friendship with Turkey in the hope of mitigating the violence of the Young Turk committees in Macedonia, which now displayed itself in a series of assassinations of Bulgarian and Greek notables. By the irony of fate the most pacific of Bulgarian governments was destined to make war on Turkey in the following year. In July the Grand Sobranye was convoked to make certain changes in the Constitution resulting for the most part from the proclamation of Bulgarian independence in 1908. The assumption of the royal title was sanctioned, and the king and government were entrusted with the right to make secret political treaties.

In May 1911 the decision of the Turkish government to send salaried cadis or ecclesiastical judges to Crete caused unbounded excitement in the island. The decision, which was attributed to the desire of Turkey to uphold the " sovereign " rights recognized by the Powers in the preceding year, was approved by Great Britain but deprecated by the other Protecting Powers. The Cretans determined to prevent the landing of the Turkish functionaries by force, and the Canea government addressed a protest to the Powers. Eventually the Powers induced the Porte to allow the question to rest.

The sympathy and aid extended by Montenegro to the Catholic Malissori or mountaineers of the Albanian districts south of the Montenegrin frontier in their revolt against the methods of Young Turk administration led to critical relations with Turkey during the summer of 1911. The revolted districts were devastated by a Turkish army under Shefket Torgut Pasha, and large numbers of refugees passed into Montenegro, where they met with a hospitable reception, while Montenegrins fought in the Albanian ranks. Eventually the Porte accepted the greater part of the insurgents' terms (Aug. 2), and better relations between Montenegro and Turkey were brought about through Russia.

The outbreak of the war between Italy and Turkey (Sept. 29, 1911) produced some excitement in the Balkans and led to military measures on the part of all the states of the Peninsula in response to the mobilization of the Turkish army. It was soon realized, however, that Italy had resolved to exclude the Balkans from the area of war, and no trouble resulted for the time except in Crete, where armed meetings were held, a " revolutionary " Assembly was convoked, and deputies were elected for the Greek Chamber. The deputies were captured on their departure for Athens by an armed party from the international fleet and taken to Suda (Dec. 15), where they were detained until the dissolution of the Chamber (Jan. 3, 1911). In September the Powers had notified to King George of Greece their decision not to fill the vacant post of high commissioner of Crete.

1912.—The year of 1912 opened gloomily in the Balkans. The possibility that the war between Italy and Turkey might bring about a cataclysm in the Peninsula was by no means removed, notwithstanding the neutral attitude of the Balkan States, but the principal danger lay in the deplorable condition of Macedonia. That province, abandoned by Europe, had fallen into a state of anarchy ; pillage and murder were everywhere rife, and a campaign of systematic assassination, carried out by the local Young Turk committees, led to reprisals on the part of the Christian population. The Bulgarian " Internal Organization " resorted to a series of bomb outrages, and a massacre of Christians followed at Ishtib. The state of affairs in Albania and Epirus was no better ; the Great Powers looked on with indifference, and the conviction was brought home to statesmen at Athens, Sofia and Belgrade, that nothing but the concerted action of the Balkan States could end an intolerable situation. The tendency towards a combination was strengthened by a meeting of the heirs apparent

of the Balkan kingdoms at Sofia on 2nd February, when Prince Boris of Bulgaria attained his majority. The definite conclusion of alliances between Bulgaria and Servia and Bulgaria and Greece followed in a few weeks, while an *entente* was arrived at between them and Montenegro.

The unrest in Crete was kept alive by a decision of the revolutionary assembly to send deputies to the Greek Chamber (Feb. 2), and by some murders of Moslem peasants which led to a warning Note from the Protecting Powers. Owing to the quarrels of local politicians a state of chaos resulted in the island, which for some days (March 12–15) was without a government. At the end of April, notwithstanding the prohibition of the Powers, a number of deputies proceeded to Athens, but a steamer conveying a party of nineteen was intercepted by H.M.S. " Minerva," which brought the deputies to Suda, where they were detained on board as prisoners for more than a month (April 28–June 6). On June 1st the deputies at Athens vainly endeavoured to force their way into the Chamber, which was surrounded by a strong force of troops ; they were ultimately induced to desist from their efforts by M. Venizelos, who informed them that the Government had decided to prorogue the Chamber till 14th October. On that day Greece addressed an ultimatum to Turkey, and the long protracted Cretan Question found a practical solution in the admission of the deputies to the Chamber. Shortly afterwards M. Dragoumis was despatched to Canea to take over the government in the name of King George.

On 1st July the death of M. Milovanovich (b. 1862), Servian prime minister and (since 1908) minister for foreign affairs, took place at Belgrade. A statesman of remarkable tact and shrewdness and a highly amiable man, who in early life had been a professor of law, he had been a member of various Cabinets, and was Servian delegate to the Second Hague Conference. He was succeeded in the premiership by M. Pashich.

During the summer of 1912 the condition of Macedonia became more grave ; the state of anarchy was increased by a mutiny among the Turkish troops at Monastir, which led to the downfall of the government at Constantinople ; another revolt broke out in Albania ; fighting was resumed on the Turco-Montenegrin frontier, and a massacre following the explosion of some bombs took place at Kotchané, which aroused the utmost indignation in Bulgaria. Public attention in that country was distracted for a while by the celebration at Tirnovo of the 25th anniversary of King Ferdinand's pacific reign (Aug. 15), but agitation for war with Turkey soon broke out afresh. Meanwhile the allied Balkan States, having matured their military plans, determined on making a joint effort to secure a thoroughgoing measure of reforms in the European provinces of Turkey.

On 30th September the allied states mobilized all their forces and Turkey responded by a similar measure on the following day. The Powers at last took alarm and informed the Balkan governments that they would charge themselves with the introduction of reforms in European Turkey (Oct. 7). In anticipation of European intervention the Porte had already revived the obsolete Law of the Vilayets of 1880 (Oct. 4). Neither the promises of the Powers nor the Turkish Law seemed a sufficient guarantee to the allied states. On 13th October they addressed identic Notes to Turkey demanding a far-reaching series of reforms. The Porte refused to reply, and on 15th October broke off relations with Servia and Bulgaria; an effort was made to detach Greece from the alliance by an offer of the sovereignty of Crete and of long-refused railway communication with Europe. Greece, however, delivered an ultimatum demanding the revocation of an embargo laid on Greek vessels in Turkish ports (Oct. 14). On the 18th Bulgaria, Greece and Servia declared war. Their action had been anticipated by King Nicholas of Montenegro, who, on 9th October invaded Albania.

APPENDIX II

THE OUTBREAK OF WAR, 1912

After a protracted period of tension over the Macedonian question, the long-expected crisis between the Balkan States and Turkey reached an acute stage at the opening of October 1912. In the early summer Bulgaria, Servia, Montenegro and Greece had come to a definite agreement for co-operating as a league in a common policy, not merely for securing from Turkey the long-promised " reforms " in Macedonia and enforcing the old stipulations of the Berlin Treaty, but for obtaining a real autonomy for Turkey's European provinces with their Christian inhabitants. The insurrection in Albania had for some time been creating trouble ; and in August fresh exasperation was caused by Turkish massacres of Bulgarians at Kotchana and of Serbs at Berane, so that throughout the Balkan States public opinion became hot for action. The governments of Bulgaria, Servia, Montenegro and Greece now prepared to deliver an ultimatum insisting on their demands, and for this purpose started mobilising their forces on 30th September. Turkey replied with similar measures, and for some days it was uncertain whether war could be averted, while the Great Powers, and especially Russia and Austria, strove for peace by diplomatic pressure on Turkey.

On behalf of Austria-Hungary Count Berchtold had only recently been trying to set the Powers in motion once more for a common policy in Macedonia, and now they hastily entered into communication, under the lead of France, to devise some formula which would satisfy the Balkan League without either creating differences between themselves or making concessions too difficult for Turkey. The Porte, tardily recognising the necessity of doing something, made it known that it was prepared to give effect to the abortive " Law of the Vilayets," drawn up in 1880 ; and it was arranged by the Powers that a Joint Note should be presented to Turkey, inviting the immediate discussion of reforms, coupled with the intimation that no breach of the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire was proposed. At the same time it was left to Austria and Russia jointly, on behalf of Europe, to urge patience on the Balkan League by assurances that reforms would be instituted. The Balkan Allies, however, wanted more than that. They stipulated, not only that the Powers should guarantee Macedonian autonomy, but that they themselves should be included with the Powers as its administrators ; and though on 10th October the Collective Note was duly presented to Turkey, the situation had then passed beyond the power of diplomacy to control the march of events. On 8th October Montenegro declared war and invaded Albania ; on the 13th Greece, Bulgaria and Servia presented their ultimatum ; and by the 17th a formal state of war existed between the Allies and Turkey.

At the outset it was declared the object of the Powers to co-operate in localising the war, themselves remaining neutral, and to keep its results, whatever they might be, from embroiling the rest of Europe. With this end in view they agreed to notify the belligerents that the territorial *status quo* would not be allowed to be altered. But the unexpectedly rapid and overwhelming success of the Allies, and the complete collapse of the Turkish arms, upset all the preliminary formulas. By the end of October it was clear that the old maps of Eastern Europe might be rolled up, and that " Turkey in Europe " had ceased to exist. It was no longer a question of maintaining the *status quo*. That was gone for ever so far as Turkey was concerned. The " Eastern Question " had entered an entirely new phase, with the proof that Bulgaria and the allies were in a position, by their own strong hand, to make " the Balkan States for the Balkan peoples " the principle of a territorial readjustment. The problem now was how the old ambitions and rival sympathies of Austria and Russia in that part of the world should be reconciled with the new situation. Speaking at the Guildhall, London, on 9th November, Mr Asquith gave public expression to the necessity of recognizing the logic of the stricken field, when he said that " on one thing I believe the general opinion of Europe to be unanimous—that the victors are not to be robbed of the fruits which have cost them so dear ; " and in reference to alarming reports of growing tension between Austria-Hungary and Servia concerning the latter's declared policy of extending her territory to the Adriatic, he emphatically deprecated the raising and pressing at this stage of isolated questions which would probably assume a more tractable aspect when the time came for a general settlement in which Europe as a whole must have a voice.

Mr Asquith's speech was made at an opportune moment. Just previously (Oct. 30) a proposal by the French Premier, M. Poincaré, that all the Powers should make a declara-

tion of " disinterestedness," in the territorial readjustment resulting from the war, had done harm rather than good. Austria was not prepared to be other than very much " interested " in the matter, and was irritated at the suggestion that she should subscribe to such a declaration. But Mr Asquith's " wait and see " formula—putting into other words for the policy of Europe his favourite advice on difficult points of English domestic politics—had a soothing influence and was generally approved.

Everything now depended, however, on a speedy conclusion to the actual fighting. The Bulgarians had driven Nazim Pasha's main army back to the Chatalja lines and were threatening to march on Constantinople itself. An appeal was made by Turkey to the Powers to mediate, but to no purpose; and on 12th November the Porte applied directly to the Allies for an armistice, as the Powers advised. On the 19th the terms of the Allies were notified, plenipotentiaries being nominated by them and invited from Turkey in order to discuss conditions of peace. The Allies demanded the surrender of all Turkish positions still holding out in Europe, including the Chatalja lines, as well as Adrianople, Scutari and Yanina, only Constantinople and a strip of adjacent territory being left to Turkey. On the 21st the Porte rejected these terms, bitterly complaining that Europe, which had stepped in to save Greece in 1897 when Turkey was the victor, would do nothing now for Turkey when the position was reversed. Nazim Pasha was ordered to continue fighting till " reasonable and moderate conditions " were proposed. At the same time, however, he and Izzet Pasha, Osman Nizami Pasha and Shadan Bey, were appointed Turkish plenipotentionaries to carry on further negotiations for an armistice, Dr Daneff, General Savoff and General Fitcheff being nominated as Bulgarian delegates.

The possibility of European complications at this juncture acted as an encouragement to Turkey to hold out. Servia, whose arms had been so conspicuously successful in the west-central area, was straining the patience of Austria almost to breaking-point by aggressively announcing her determination to incorporate the whole of northern Albania, including a good deal more of the Adriatic coast than the Dual Monarchy was prepared to see in her hands. On 23rd November M. Pashich, the Servian premier, issued a statement to the Press, of which the crucial portion was as follows:

" Servian arms have conquered far more territory than Servia intends to retain, but Servian policy has established a minimum of territorial expansion which does no more than cover her conationals and her national necessities. For this minimum Servia is prepared to make every sacrifice, since not to do so would be to be false to her national duty. No Servian statesman or Government dare betray the future welfare of the country by considering for a moment even the abandonment of this minimum. Servia's minimum requisite to her national development is economic independence, save, possibly, in so far as regards a Customs union with her allies and a free and adequate passage to the Adriatic Sea on the Adriatic coast. It is essential that Servia should possess about 50 kilometres from Alessio to Durazzo. This coastline would be joined to what was formerly Old Servia approximately by the territory between a line from Durazzo to Ochrida Lake in the south and one from Alessio to Djakova in the north."

So flagrant a defiance of Austria's susceptibilities made European diplomacy in the interests of non-intervention and peace a matter of the greatest difficulty. Moreover Austrian public opinion was stirred up during November by reports of Servian ill-treatment of the Austrian consul at Prisrend, Herr Prochaska; for some time his whereabouts were not known, and it was even suggested that he had been killed. Eventually he was found to be unharmed, and the truth appears to be that he had himself acted with great indiscretion. By the middle of December the Prochaska affair had ceased to trouble, but so long as the worst of the tension lasted between Austria and Servia over the Albanian question it was used by the Austrian Press Bureau as a method of exciting anti-Servian feeling. The consequence was that at the end of November Austria made open preparations for emergencies by establishing a military censorship and taking other preliminary steps for mobilization; and Russia was forced, for this reason, to strengthen her forces at the same time, since the Austrian mobilization was clearly directed against the possibility of Russia feeling bound to give effect to her sympathies with Servia.

The Albanian question was in any case certain to be, for some time to come, the least " tractable " of all the problems in the new territorial settlement; but the advance of such extreme Servian pretensions at this stage was discountenanced even by those Powers who were prepared to see a considerable extension of Servian territory, including a sufficient access, for commercial purposes, to the Adriatic. In view of inevitable later developments it should be noticed that, apart altogether from consideration of political expediency, the full Servian demand as put forward by M. Pashich, and justified by him on ethnological and historical grounds, might well appear an exaggerated one to an impartial student of the international question. According to M. Pashich " about 10 % of the 150,000 inhabitants of the territory claimed were Servian; " more than half the Albanians are Christians; observers such as Hahn and Baldacci admit that the Albanians in the district " (*i.e.* the northern half) " are of ancient Servian origin," and so forth; but, writing from Constantinople on 12th November (before M. Pashich published his manifesto), the *Times* correspondent gave the following facts with regard to the territory in question:—

" In the Vilayet of Skutari there is one Slav village—that of Vraka, near Scutari. Gusinje is inhabited by a majority of Albanians. The balance of its population is composed of Mahommedan Slavs. In the Novi Bazar region, though the Kazas (counties) of Akova (Bielopolyé) and Kolashin are mainly Albanian, the majority of the population is Christian Slav with a fair proportion of 'Bosniaks' (Moslem Serbs). Leaving this important tongue of land, we come to Ipek. In the entire Kaza (county) of Ipek there are, according to the best ethnological map of the district—the work of neither Serb nor Albanian, Austrian or Turk—42 villages inhabited exclusively by Serbs, 123 villages inhabited by Albanians, Moslem and Catholic, 44 'mixed' villages inhabited by Moslem Albanians, Catholic Albanians and Serbs, and the 'mixed' town of Ipek. Allowing for the proportion of Serbs and Albanians in the 'mixed' villages and in Ipek as being equal, and assuming, as do Turkish census reports, that a house represents five souls, one finds that the inhabitants of the 13,511 houses of Ipek Kaza at the beginning of the 20th century were 46,015 Moslem and Catholic Albanians, 21,390 Serbs and 150 gipsies. These results hardly justify Slav ethnological claims to Ipek, the more so as the balance has swung further against the Serbs in the last ten years. In Djakova there are not 5 % of Serbs. In Rozhaj Kaza, north of Ipek, the Albanians have a four to one majority. Prisrend was once the seat of Servian kings. But to-day, according to the best available information, four-fifths of the population of Prisrend Kaza are Albanians. Even further east the Albanians are in a majority. There are less than 150 Serb houses in the Kaza of Katchanik; if Mitrovitza is mainly Servia Vuchitrn is Arnaut, and Albanians form the majority of the population of the Prishtina and Ghilan districts. In all Kossovo north of the Shar range, omitting the Kaza of Katchanik but including the Sanjak of Novi Bazar, there were in the first years of the 20th century at least 300,000 Moslem and Catholic Albanians, against 120,000 Christian and perhaps 30,000 Moslem Serbs. These figures scarcely support the contention of Goptchevitch and other writers, ever ready to create 'facts' in support of their propaganda that Old Servia is predominantly Slav. Historical claims founded on temporary occupation or on episodes such as the conquests of Stephan Dushan are not too strong. If the Serbs once overran all Albania, the Turks overran Servia and Hungary. As for the theory that the majority of the Moslems of Old Servia are in reality 'Albanized and Islamized Serbs,' the fact that the present majority of the population of Old Servia differs in language and religion from the Servian minority is surely a sufficient answer."

Albanian " nationalism," in fact, is a question which really provides difficulties of its own for the future government of this part of the Balkan area. On 28th November a further complication was introduced by a movement started by the Albanian leader, Ismail Kemal Bey, under whom as " president of the provisional government " the independence of Albania was proclaimed by a " national assembly " at Valona.[1] This step, combined with the determination of the Powers not to allow the extreme Servian demand to act as an apple of discord, resulted in relaxing the tension as regards Austria during December; and meanwhile events were proceeding more satisfactorily in the direction of peace negotiations between the Balkan Allies and Turkey.

On 29th November discussion began at Chatalja over the terms of an armistice, and on 3rd December an agreement was signed for a suspension of hostilities and for peace negotiations to begin in London on 13th December, the belligerents meanwhile simply remaining in the positions already occupied. The armistice was signed by Bulgaria, Servia and Montenegro, but not by Greece, though Greece proposed to take part in the peace negotiations; so that war still went on between Greece and Turkey. At the same time there was a marked improvement in the relations of the Great Powers, owing largely to a proposal made by Sir Edward Grey on 27th November that their representatives in one of the capitals should hold informal and non-committal consultations for the purpose of mutual agreement on the points on which Europe must make her voice heard in the final settlement. On 11th December Sir E. Grey was able to announce that all the Powers had agreed, and that their ambassadors in London would act.

In spite of the danger to European peace which still existed in the fact that Austria, and therefore Russia, kept her military preparations on a war footing, the situation during December was cleared a good deal by explicit declarations of policy in Germany, France and Russia. On 2nd December the German Chancellor, speaking in the Reichstag, said that the exchange of views between the Powers was having " favourable results, promising a satisfactory settlement." If, as he hoped would not be the case, insoluble difficulties appeared, it would, of course, be for the Powers directly concerned to give effect to their claims. " This applies to our allies. If, contrary to all expectations, they are attacked and find their existence menaced, we, in loyalty to our duty, should have to take our stand firm and determined at their side." This declaration of solidarity as between the Powers of the Triple Alliance was coupled with a notable statement by the German Foreign Minister Herr von Kiderlen-Waechter (his last important utterance before his sudden death within a month), as to German relations with England and therefore with the Triple Entente.

[1] During 1913 Albanian " independence " received recognition, and Prince William of Wied accepted the Principality; but he abandoned the country in 1914, and Essad Pasha became provisional President of the Government and Commander-in-chief.

During the recent crisis, he said, German relations with England had been those of peculiar confidence, " and have not only provided a happy intimacy but have done good service to the promotion of agreement " ; and he expressed his " confident expectation that this will continue." On 5th December the French premier, too, made a general statement both on the Chamber and on the Senate. The aims of France, he said, would be " (1) continuity of her foreign policy, and consequently attentive and persistent exercise of her alliances and friendship, (2) sincere and constant endeavours to secure the agreement of Europe and peace, (3) a firm and calm resolve to make French rights respected and to maintain the national dignity." Finally on 18th December the Russian premier, M. Kokovtsoff, in the Duma, said that while Russia could not remain indifferent to the efforts of the Slav peoples to obtain better conditions, she had no selfish designs. The announcement on 8th December that the Triple Alliance, which would nominally expire in May 1914, had been renewed for another seven years, was obviously made in the interests of Austria. But having made her demonstration, Austria was now taking the situation more calmly, and relying on her power to assert herself, with her allies, only if necessity should arise.

London was now the scene both of the meeting of the Peace Delegates, and of the conferences between the ambassadors of the Powers. By 13th December the plenipotentiaries had arrived, and their first meeting was held on 16th December. Bulgaria was represented by Dr Daneff, M. Majaroff and General Paprikoff; Greece by M. Venezelos, M. Skoulidis, M. Gennadius and Dr Streit; Servia by M. Novakovich, M. Nikolich, and Dr Vesnich ; Montenegro by M. Mioutchkovich, M. Popovich and Count Voinovich ; Turkey by Mustafa Reshid Pasha, General Salih Pasha and Osman Nizami Pasha. Little progress was made at the meetings held on 17th, 19th and 21st December, owing first to the objection of Turkey to the Greeks being included, which was eventually waived, and then to Turkey asking for the revictualling of Adrianople, which was flatly refused. Meanwhile the ambassadors had begun to meet on 17th December, and at their third meeting on 20th December they came to an important agreement as regards Albania, which was promptly announced as follows : " The ambassadors have recommended to their governments, and the latter have accepted, the principle of Albanian autonomy, together with a provision guaranteeing to Servia commercial access to the Adriatic. The six governments have agreed in principle on these two points."

On the 23rd the Balkan allies presented their demands to the Turkish delegates, and on the 28th Turkey made her first counter-proposals, which were promptly rejected, and followed these on 1st January (after an abortive session on Dec. 30th) by others. The Allies demanded the surrender by Turkey of all territory west of a line extending from Rodosto to Cape Malatra, 5 m. S. of Midia, and of all the islands of the Aegean, including Crete, with the exception of certain islands near the mouth of the Dardanelles to be specified by the Powers, but so as to leave the peninsula of Gallipoli to Turkey ; they were content to leave the Powers to decide as to the administration of Albania. The Turkish proposals, as defined on 1st January, conceded the surrender of all occupied territory west of the vilayet of Adrianople, but insisted on the retention of the vilayet of Adrianople subject to a rectification of frontier with Bulgaria, and of the Aegean Islands, while leaving the protecting powers to decide as to Crete. In answer to these counter-proposals the Allies " took note " of Turkey's agreement to cede the territories west of Adrianople, with the proviso that this must include territory whether occupied or not yet completely occupied ; the rest they described as " unacceptable." On 3rd January Reshid Pasha went a little further, and was prepared to cede even the south-western district of the vilayet of Adrianople ; but the patience of the Allies was now nearly exhausted. They gave the Turkish delegates till Monday, 6th January, to decide whether Turkey would (1) relinquish her sovereignty over Crete, (2) cede the Aegean Islands, and (3) agree to a frontier leaving the town of Adrianople to the Allies ; otherwise, they declared, the negotiations would be broken off. Reshid Pasha's reply was at first promised for the following day, and was then postponed till the 6th, but it was believed that he had received instructions from Constantinople to refuse to give way on the question of Adrianople. This proved to be the case. On the 6th Reshid Pasha read out a statement, which, though conciliatory in tone, insisted that Turkey could not add Adrianople to her other concessions. The Balkan delegates then declared the negotiations " suspended."

Consultations followed between the Great Powers, and on 17th January a collective note was presented to Turkey advising the Porte to give way as regards Adrianople and to leave the Powers to arrange as to the Aegean Islands. The Turkish Cabinet on 22nd January obtained the approval of the National Council for this course, but next day the Young Turks again asserted themselves in Constantinople and upset the government. A crowd collected in the streets, and Enver Bey at their head demanded the resignation of the Grand Vizier, which immediately took place. Kiamil Pasha was succeeded by Mahmud Shevket Pasha, and once more the demands of the Balkan Allies were refused. At the end of January the armistice was formally declared to be at an end.

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